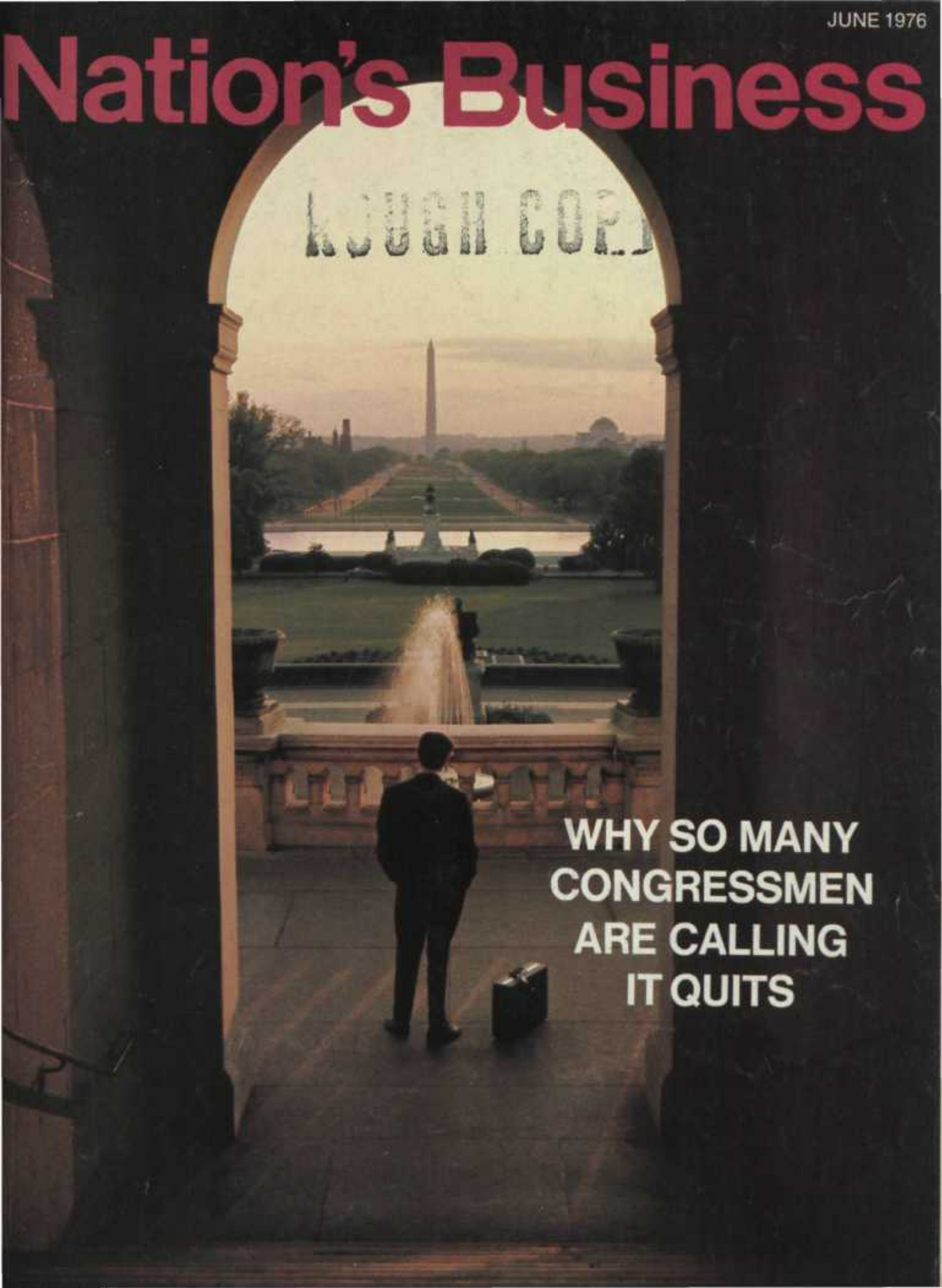


JUNE 1976

Nation's Business

W. J. COPELAND



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The work itself is divided into 22 sections. Its heart, of course, is the more than 1,100 pages given over to an A-Z vocabulary—updated to include slang expressions of this very year. The section is supplemented by charts, pronunciation symbols, lists of abbreviations, etc.

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To repeat, The Living Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language—which lists at \$39.95—is now available for **ONLY \$19.95!!** To order, mail coupon below to: Webster's Dictionary Co., 1775 Broadway, New York 10019. If you like, we'll bill your credit-card.

Act at once. As we said, as soon as the economy improves, this offer is likely to be withdrawn. Hurry. A word to the wise is sufficient.



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(Trumpet fanfare)

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This has been a presentation of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States,



in celebration of America's Bicentennial.

This is one of a series of educational public service messages being shown on television across the nation. They are based on articles which appeared in Nation's Business.

Nation's Business

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21 Why So Many Congressmen Are Calling It Quits

29 How to Get More Useful Ideas for Your Company

LESSONS OF LEADERSHIP

44 A Successful Formula for Company Growth

A BICENTENNIAL SALUTE TO AMERICAN CITIES

53 Memphis: City of Optimism

THE JOB AHEAD:

64 Enriching the Quality of Life in America

70 How Business and Labor Rate Members of Congress

EXECUTIVE TRENDS

6 What You Need to Climb the Business Ladder

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

9 Confusion on the Campaign Trail

SOUND OFF TO THE EDITOR

15 Nationwide Voter Registration by Mail?

GUEST ECONOMIST

34 Why Wage Demands May Moderate

PANORAMA OF THE NATION'S BUSINESS

51 Making It Easier to Hire the Handicapped

BUSINESS: A LOOK AHEAD

78 Federal Funds Sought to Promote Domestic Travel

Departments

4 Editor's Memo	15 Sound Off	76 Index of Advertisers
6 Executive Trends	16 Sound Off Response	78 Business: A Look Ahead
9 Kilpatrick	34 Guest Economist	80 Editorial
12 Letters	51 Panorama	

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EDITOR'S MEMO

Evaluating How Members of Congress Vote

OVER THE MONTHS in each session of Congress, hundreds of votes are cast by the 535 senators and representatives. Few citizens have the time or resources to keep up with this mass of legislative action. Therefore, few citizens can determine how the voting of an individual on Capitol Hill compares with their own views.

For many years, labor, conservative, and liberal organizations have measured congressional voting records against their own standards.

Now there is another evaluation, one of special interest to business.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has evaluated individual voting records on a sampling of major issues that are of particular importance to businessmen, both in their businesses and at home. The National Chamber bases its evaluation on its "policy positions relative to the exercise of political and economic freedom within our system."

So that you may know how business, labor, conservatives, and liberals view individual voting records in Congress, we are publishing the evaluations of four groups: the National Chamber; COPE, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education; ADA, Americans for Democratic Action; and ACA, Americans for Constitutional Action.

The article, "How Business and Labor Rate Members of Congress," starts on page 70.

• • •

More people are quitting Congress than ever before in a single term.

Leaving after this congressional session will be men and women who have helped shape the destiny of this country for many years. Included are the leaders of both parties in the Senate, Democrat Mike Mansfield, of Montana, and Republican Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania. There are many others, too—in all, 58

members are quitting their congressional posts.

The fact that record numbers are leaving both the Senate and the House is striking, but more striking is the reason for the exodus. The article starting on page 21, "Why So Many Congressmen Are Calling It Quits," will explain for you something of the way the legislative process is working in Washington these days.

In the view of many of those who are quitting, the process is not functioning smoothly. One major cause for leaving is given time and again—frustration.

Perhaps the sentiment of many of those who are leaving is best summed up by Rep. James F. Hastings (R.-N. Y.). At age 49, he resigned in the middle of his fourth congressional term to become president of the Associated Industries of New York State, a 2,800-member trade association.

"Taking a look at the next 12 to 14 years of productive life," the ex-congressman says, "I decided I couldn't spend them here under the circumstances and frustrations I see in this legislative body."

• • •

With so many complexities in day-to-day business and living, it is easy to be overwhelmed by the present. But what of the future?

One businessman who has given considerable thought to the future is Irving S. Shapiro, chairman and chief executive officer of the Du Pont Co.

In "The Job Ahead: Enriching the Quality of Life in America" (page 64), Mr. Shapiro takes a forward look at America's third century. His views are thought-provoking. He says:

"In the past century, we built America into history's richest society in material goods. In the next century, we will build America into history's richest society in quality of life."



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What You Need to Climb the Business Ladder

Stanford M.B.A.'s, class of 1964, more than doubled their starting salaries in five years. In ten years, they almost quadrupled starting salaries.

That's what the university's graduate school of business reports from a recent survey. Here are the figures:

MONTHLY INCOME

Starting:	
Median	\$ 750
Range	\$ 550-\$1,200
At five years:	
Median	\$1,625
Range	\$ 900-\$3,500
At ten years:	
Median	\$2,800
Range	\$1,300-\$7,000

This experience is not atypical. Salaries of M.B.A.'s from most business schools would follow a similar

pattern, says the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business.

Obviously, some of the Stanford alumni went further up the management ladder than others. What qualities do most successful managers share? Stanford found five:

- Oral persuasiveness.
- Social boldness.
- Self-confidence.
- Energy.
- Sociability.

"First," says Dr. Thomas W. Harrell, "the successful manager is primarily an effective speaker. He likes to talk. He is willing to call on a customer cold, even if there is a distinct possibility that he may be thrown out. In other words, he is interested in persuading others to his point of view."

Dr. Harrell, professor of applied psychology at Stanford's business school, conducted the survey. His wife, Margaret S. Harrell, was his research assistant. They discuss the survey in a recent issue of the school's alumni bulletin.

"While oral communication is the most important factor in success," Dr. Harrell says, "the ability to communicate in written form is probably important as well."

Next, he adds, comes "social boldness."

"This quality," he says, "emerged not only at the business school but, interestingly enough, in childhood play, respondents reporting they were more frequently chosen to lead play activities than were their peers."

"Linked to social boldness is confidence. A man succeeds not only because he wants to succeed, but because he has previously succeeded."

Good health and energy are also important, the study shows, plus sociability.

"Social extroverts," Dr. Harrell says, "get ahead farther and faster than others—especially in large companies."

How about IQ and hard work?

"All the graduates surveyed are intelligent people," Dr. Harrell says. "And hard work is important. In fact, we find that hours worked and earnings go hand in hand."

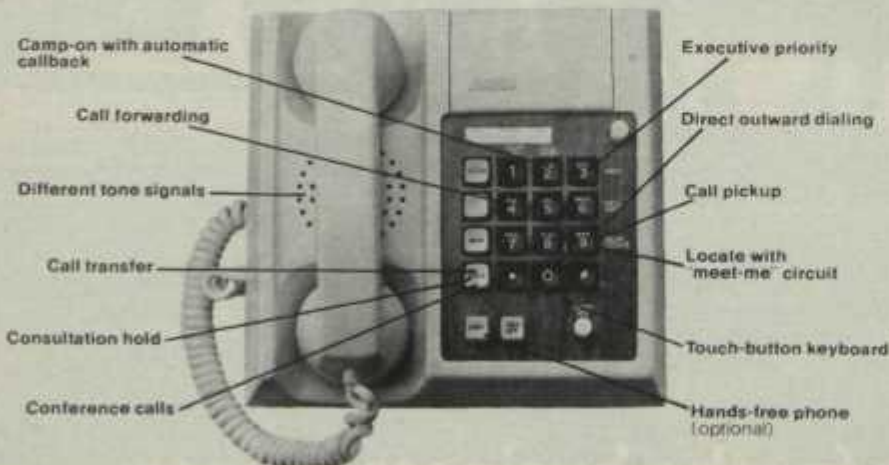
"The highest paid work the longest hours."

How to Become a Millionaire

Thanks to "the magical geometric power of compound interest," you can wind up rich.

So says Samson Coslow, author of "Superyields" (\$10, publisher: The Hirsch Organization, Inc., Old Tappan, N. J. 07675). He cites this example:

"A young fellow starting with \$1,000 in cash and adding a mere \$20 a week to the fund regularly, plus interest at the rate of ten percent,



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Ten embarrassing questions about the copier in your office.

- 1. Is it a plain paper copier?**
(Or are you still fooling around with those treated papers you can't write notes on?)
- 2. Will it accept a full-size 11x17 ledger sheet?**
(If it can't, you might be in the market for a Canon.)
- 3. Does black come out black? Or does it come out gray?**
(With Canon, it comes out black.)
- 4. Does your copier accept an Automatic Document Feeder attachment?**
(If not, think of all those manhours a Canon NPL7 Plain Paper Copier could have saved you.)
- 5. Can your copier handle photographs?**
(Canon copiers can.)
- 6. Can your copier handle virtually any original?**
(Canon copiers can. They aren't blind to colors. They don't go bananas over reproducing three-dimensional objects. And they won't let your blue lines get away.)
- 7. Had to call a copier repairman lately?**
(Sorry to hear that. By the way, Canon's got the best reliability reputation in the business.)
- 8. When you did call, did he come?**
(Canon's nationwide service network sends a serviceman when you need one. Which won't be very often.)
- 9. How's your bottom line?**
(What with cost per copy, down-time, hidden costs, and all the originals your copier won't accept, it sounds like a Canon could just about pay for itself.)
- 10. Don't you think, under the circumstances, you should fill out the coupon below and send it to us right away?**



- ☐ I'm not embarrassed to admit that the copier in my office leaves something to be desired. Get in touch with me to arrange a demonstration of Canon's superior copier technology.
- ☐ My copier and I have gone through a lot together, and I wouldn't part with it for the world. But just in case, send me more information about Canon. I have this friend who might be interested.

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would have \$40,000 in 15 years and more than \$200,000 in 30 years.

"At the same rate, still adding \$20 a week to his original \$1,000, if he lived to a reasonable age, he would be a millionaire in his lifetime." That "reasonable age" would be 66, if he started saving at 20.

Mr. Coslow's investment results, of course, don't take taxes into consideration. Taxes vary from place to place, from year to year, and by individual.

The book carries a table which shows how quickly savings grow at an untaxed annual yield of ten percent, compounded monthly:

Monthly savings	In ten years	In 20 years
\$ 10	\$ 2,048	\$ 7,593
\$ 25	\$ 5,120	\$ 18,982
\$ 100	\$ 20,484	\$ 75,936
\$ 200	\$ 40,968	\$ 151,872
\$ 500	\$ 102,422	\$ 379,684
\$1,000	\$204,844	\$759,368

"What's the point of gambling in the Wall Street casino," asks author

Coslow, "when such capital appreciation is obtainable on yield alone?"

A few of the alternatives he suggests:

- High-yielding certificates of deposit or mutual funds that invest in them.
- Term savings accounts with London branches of U. S. banks.
- Blue-chip (not of the casino type) stocks that traditionally pay unusually high dividends.

All three, Mr. Coslow points out, often pay more than ten percent interest.

Straightening Out Your Books

Your net worth may be less than you think.

That's the news from the National Taxpayers Union.

Your Uncle Sam has run up a lot of bills, the organization points out. To bring all those billions down from the stratosphere, it has broken them

into various categories. Here are the category totals, as of fiscal 1973, plus the individual share of each taxpayer employed in the private sector:

	Gross cost (In billions)	Share per Taxpayer
National debt	\$ 458	\$ 11,777
Other fiscal liabilities	\$ 63	\$ 1,400
Undelivered orders	\$ 102	\$ 2,666
Long-term contracts	\$ 9	\$ 200
Financial commitments	\$ 158	\$ 3,511
Insurance commitments	\$1,022	\$ 22,711
Annuity programs	\$2,635	\$ 58,555
Unadjudicated claims	\$ 6	\$ 133
International commitments	\$ 7	\$ 155
Miscellaneous commitments	\$ 17	\$ 377
TOTAL	\$5,077	\$114,818

With Uncle Sam's financial commitments growing year by year, later figures would be significantly larger.

"Taxes and inflation are already your single greatest expense," the National Taxpayers Union says.

Then, this cheery note:

"If things keep going the way they have, your taxes may double again in the next five years."

What Bankers Want From Home Buyers

Housing will do its bit to honor 1776.

At least, the Mortgage Bankers Association of America thinks so.

"We expect housing starts to top 1.5 million," a spokesman says, "and mobile home shipments to be about 250,000. The total: about 1,776,000 units."

If you're buying a home, the association says, you can make it easier to get financing by bringing along this information:

Employment and salary history for husband and wife.

Family's cash on hand—including bank accounts.

Family's additional income, such as dividends.

Value of family-owned real estate and other personal property.

Face and cash value of life insurance.

Outstanding debts.

Credit references.

"Most mortgage lenders will ask for most of this information," the association says.

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Confusion on the Campaign Trail

Peter J. McNulty, the famous Washington correspondent, found himself in Michigan one night a couple of weeks ago. In his benumbed state of mind, he wasn't certain exactly where he was in Michigan. Was it Lansing? Or Flint? Or Saginaw? Was it Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids? He couldn't remember. The candidate's travel schedule was in McNulty's coat pocket, but McNulty was too tired to fish it out. Besides, he couldn't recall which candidate he was covering.

The weary newsman glanced around his motel room, looking for inspiration, but could find none. He perceived the same carpet, the same bedspread, the same wall decorations, the same unreliable television set he had seen a hundred nights before. He stared at the fake Castilian dresser and saw the same detritus of the campaign trail: speeches, statements, pamphlets, leaflets, four crumpled dollar bills, six matchbooks, three baggage checks, and two forgotten keys from other motels.

Five months on the trail, thought McNulty. Five months of speeches, briefings, interviews, caravans, and motorcades. Five months of airports, shopping centers, factory gates, high schools, village squares, and local gymnasiums. Five months of crowds, five months of noise, five months of takeoffs, landings, and bags in the hall by 5 a.m. Five months of listening to guys politicking for the highest office in the land. McNulty glared at his portable typewriter, and the typewriter, like a surly dog, snarled through its 39 teeth. McNulty, slumping to the bed, hurled an oath at his tape recorder. To his amazement, the tape recorder cleared its scratchy throat and spoke aloud.

"Okay, Mac," said the tape re-

corder, twirling its eyeballs gently. "I know you're tired. You've inhaled more hot air than any man should have to take. You've swallowed more political baloney than you can hold. But if you'll just stretch out and put your head on that pillow, I want you to hear a speech you haven't heard before. Here. Let me rewind while you unwind. . . ."

The tape recorder thought that should produce a chuckle, but the famous newsman's eyes were closed. "Listen," said the tape recorder. "I'm pushing the button marked 'play.' . . ."

"My fellow Americans. . . ." McNulty sighed heavily. In the darkening motel room, the recorder, untended, played on.

"My fellow Americans, you probably haven't heard of me before, but my name is George T. Spelvin, candidate for President on the No Party ticket. We call it the No Party because I make no promises, I feed you no hokum, and the wise guys say this will get me no votes. If you want to know my campaign song, it's 'Yes, We Have No Baloney,' and if you'll hang around a few minutes, that's what you'll get: no baloney.

"Take this business of abortion. If there was ever a phony issue tossed into a presidential campaign, this is it. Whatever the rights and wrongs of abortion may be, it isn't a presidential issue. It may be a moral issue, or a theological issue, or a medical issue, or a matter for the states to treat under their criminal laws, but it is not something a President can solve, even if he knows what the right and wise solution is, which I don't. The Supreme Court has laid down the law on abortion. Simply as a matter of law, I think the court's opinion was a bummer, but what

George T. Spelvin thinks is of no consequence. The opinion stands until it is reversed by the judges themselves or it is overturned by constitutional amendment. Either course will take years. Meanwhile, those who oppose abortion would be well advised to rely on moral suasion to make their case and to stop playing presidential politics."

McNulty, no longer wincing, smiled faintly on his pillow. The tape recorder, gathering steam, rolled on.

"More or less the same thing is true of racial-balance busing," said the voice of the unknown candidate. "A presidential candidate ought to make his views clearly known on this issue, because there are indeed some things a chief executive can do through the executive agencies. I'm opposed to assigning children to the public schools solely because of the color of their skin. That's what is involved in racial-balance busing, and I thought the Constitution forbids it. But here, again, the Supreme Court has the last word, and until the court comes to its senses and comprehends the fearful damage that its blunder is causing, a President can do only so much.

"I would try to hold busing to an absolute minimum, but where the courts have ordered busing, I would support their orders with all the power at my command. I would say to the malcontents, both black and white: Cool it. There are worse hardships and greater calamities than racial-balance busing.

"While I am on the subject of education, let me say something about higher education. We've got to get the federal government off the backs of the colleges and universities. This ought not to be the business of the

federal government, anyhow. Some remarkably asinine things are being done in the name of affirmative action and equal opportunity. Educators can't educate; they're too busy filling in forms. I'd stop the harassment.

"And that goes for elementary and secondary education, too. It is beyond me how such tax-supported outfits as the National Science Foundation ever were permitted to get into the business of subsidizing textbooks and teaching materials. I would stop this costly folly dead in its tracks. Private publishing houses, in cooperation with local school boards, are perfectly capable of producing high quality and wide variety in textbooks. The national government ought never to prescribe one national course of studies in anything."

McNulty's tense limbs appeared to relax. The famous correspondent folded his hands comfortably across his middle-aged paunch.

"You voters have been hearing a lot of malarkey about the Panama Canal," said the No Party's prospective standard-bearer. "Let's talk common sense. One of the distinguished gentlemen now seeking the presidency is obsessed with the mistaken notion that we bought and paid for the Canal Zone just as we bought and paid for the Gadsden Purchase or the Louisiana Purchase. He doesn't know what he's talking about. True, the United States does own certain property in fee—property purchased from private owners—but what we have under the 1903 treaty are the rights the United States would have 'if it were sovereign.' There is a heap of difference."

"I think it is important not merely to the United States, but to all the nations of the world, that we hang on to these basic rights. We must be able to defend the canal, and we must retain control of canal operations. But the several treaties of 1903, 1936, and 1955 aren't engraved in stone. There may be many prudent and reasonable concessions that

could be made to Panama without a giveaway or a surrender. Mind you, I'm not talking about knuckling under to Gen. Torrijos. If he starts a war against American citizens and American property in the Canal Zone, by the bones of Teddy Roosevelt, I'll use whatever force may be required to end it. But I'm not hungering for war. I would like to live in peace with all of Latin America. We have neglected these relationships badly, and I think they can be greatly improved.

"You have also been hearing a lot of confusing rhetoric about national defense generally. This is the situation as I see it. In terms of quantity, the Soviet Union is pretty clearly No. 1. In land forces, tanks, and especially in naval strength, the Russians have us outnumbered. But quantity is not the whole story. In terms of quality—in terms of weapons, men, and motivation—I think our own forces are superior. The important thing, in my view, is to keep that level of quality high. This will cost money; but it is money that has to be spent. The danger of world domination by the communists is a real danger, not a make-believe peril. While we work for honest, guaranteed, mutual disarmament, we must not let our guard down."

The famous correspondent contentedly crossed his legs. The tape recorder scarcely stopped for breath.

"Some of the biggest issues in this campaign have to do with economic policy. To listen to the Democrats, you might believe all our problems can be laid at the feet of Republicans in the White House. To listen to the Republicans, you would suppose everything is the fault of a Congress in which Democrats hold two thirds of the seats. Let me tell you this: There is plenty of blame to spread around."

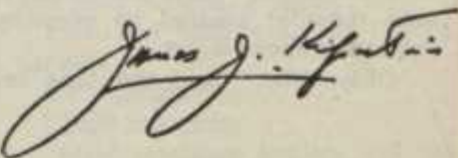
"But let's cut out the baloney. Economic upheaval is worldwide, and the causes are worldwide. We are far better off than other industrial nations. Unemployment is still too high, and the rate of inflation is still too high, but if we keep our heads and

don't rush into giddy crash programs, we'll slowly pull out of the mess. Our first reliance must be on the private sector. If Congress will provide the incentives, and if the bureaucracy can be made to eliminate the excessive regulation that tends to strangle initiative, we can keep the good momentum going. But I wouldn't kid you: We are not going to balance the budget for a long time to come.

"I wouldn't kid you on tax reform, either. Heaven knows, it is desperately needed, and I'll urge some sensible simplifications. But don't hold your breath. The mechanism of taxation has been used to control social policy since the days of the Whiskey Rebellion, and we'll have what some critics call loopholes for years to come."

The tape recorder rolled on and on. The commonsense voice of George T. Spelvin tackled every issue of the day: No evasions. No double-talk. When Spelvin didn't know an answer, he said he didn't know. The voice spoke earnestly of the need for Americans to recapture old political and spiritual values. The voice warned of sacrifices that will have to be made, of bold experiments that will have to be financed in the field of energy development. The voice spoke confidently of America's fundamental goodness and greatness. . . .


At last, McNulty stirred. The motel room was quite dark. Outside, the lights of Saginaw—for indeed it was Saginaw—were cheerfully gleaming. The great correspondent turned on a lamp, rubbed his eyes, and stared at the tape recorder in disbelief. Frantically, he pressed the rewind button. Prayerfully, he punched the instrument to "play." Alas, there was nought but silence in Saginaw that night. The speech of George T. Spelvin, if ever it had been spoken, somehow had been erased.





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The Need for a Strong Desire to Be Free

James J. Kilpatrick's column, "Selling the Profit System to the Young" [April], misses the point. So do the same issue's other articles in defense of the free market system.

The strongest argument for the free market is not the programmatic one that it produces more wealth and a resulting higher standard of living for more people than any other system. The strongest argument is the moral one that only under the free market system can simple personal freedom flourish.

Unfortunately, the American people seem to be losing their commitment to individual freedom.

The media and educational institutions are committed only to their own freedom. Government, by definition, exists to curb individual freedom of action.

Businessmen must help the American people recover a strong desire to be free, or business can forget about selling free enterprise as a superior system. People without a strong desire to be free will choose security and paternalism every time.

DON J. SMITH
President
The Smith Co. Division
Preformed Line Products Co.
Woodland Hills, Calif.

Mr. Kilpatrick noted that a doctoral candidate who had spent 16 years in the business world was shocked "at the timidity, lack of experience in the real world, and pie-in-the-sky teaching of professors in the business classrooms."

For most of my adult life, I have asked why Presidents from both parties have constantly turned to such academic circles for help to advise them on running the country. Is it any wonder our national and international affairs are in such an awful mess?

PAUL E. PEACOCK, JR.
President
Peacock Corp.
Westfield, N. J.

My chamber of commerce activities have included promotion of a

program to teach high school students basic economics that would be helpful to them both in business and in the home.

High school graduates, most of whom do not go on to college, should be well grounded in our economic system.

Such a program would make them aware of the taxes and other hidden costs that contribute directly to price increases. As a result, we might have a new generation of consumers who do not accept today's widely held belief that the businessman pockets a large part of the gross income customers see going into the cash register.

An economics education program would also serve to turn young minds away from the deceptive simplicity of authoritarian schemes and back to the freedom that comes only from a government whose leaders are fully and quickly accountable to those they govern.

DOUGLAS SEWELL
Past President
Maryvale Chamber of Commerce
Phoenix, Ariz.

Is 1984 around the corner?

Re your editorial, "Why National Economic Planning Won't Work" [April].

Proposed economic planning is one of the reasons why I cannot help but believe we are seeing "Atlas Shrugged" or "1984," both of which dealt with unchecked government power, coming to reality.

Other reasons are the continuing emphasis on social programs at the expense of the sound dollar, continuing management of business by government agencies with conflicting standards, attacks by the press on allegedly huge profits of oil and other companies, and, worst of all, the number of companies begging for special treatment and government funds.

It appears that business is destroying the free enterprise system by looking for an immediate benefit

from Big Brother at the expense of the future of our economic system.

RONALD H. LESTER
Barberton, Ohio

Business credibility gap

Preston Robert Tisch's article, "A Way to Rebuild Public Confidence in Business" [April], is a breath of fresh air.

If he has said what he means, Mr. Tisch has set forth the basic problem facing business today:

In creating its credibility gap, business has managed, with an evenhandedness that is amazing, to alienate just about every sector of society—stockholders, customers, middle management, labor unions, Congress, government workers, ad infinitum.

DICK E. CORWIN
Aztec Associate Realtors
Austin, Texas

Help for the handicapped

I would like to call your readers' attention to what the Paralyzed Veterans of America consider a very important bill now pending in the Congress—H. R. 766, to provide a tax deduction on costs businesses incur in making their facilities accessible to the handicapped.

Some companies planning new buildings are specifying that designs include provision for access by the handicapped. Other companies are renovating existing structures by building ramps, widening doors, reserving parking spaces, and taking other steps to make it easier for the handicapped.

With the added incentive of a tax break, we hope that a great many more businesses will join the fight to create a barrier-free environment. Literature and basic design information is available by writing to me at PVA, Suite 300W, 7315 Wisconsin Ave. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20014.

HANK BEASLEY
Barrier-Free Design Director
Paralyzed Veterans of America
Washington, D. C.

continued on page 42



The Colt Bicentennial Revolver owned by Arthur L. Toll, Southampton, Pa.

"TWA's AFDT analysis showed Air Freight could cut our distribution costs while improving customer service. It was right on target."



Ted Smith, V.P. Marketing for Colt Industries, Firearms Division, was up against a very common problem.

Anxious to increase his turnover, Mr. Smith wanted to speed up deliveries and improve customer service. But at the same time, he had to keep a close eye on already-rising distribution costs. Air Freight seemed to be a possible solution, but Mr. Smith wasn't sure it was economically feasible.

TWA's Air Freight Decision Tool had the answer.

With a portable, telephone-connected computer terminal, TWA ran an AFDT analysis at Colt's headquarters. It indicated that, instead of increasing total distribution costs, regular use of Air Freight could actually reduce them. And delivery times could be cut from weeks to days, even hours.

That was a year ago. As Ted Smith now says, "We're very pleased with the results. Service is up, costs are down and we haven't lost a single piece in transit. I wouldn't even worry about sending something as valuable as the \$55,000 Colt Bicentennial Revolver clear across the world with TWA."

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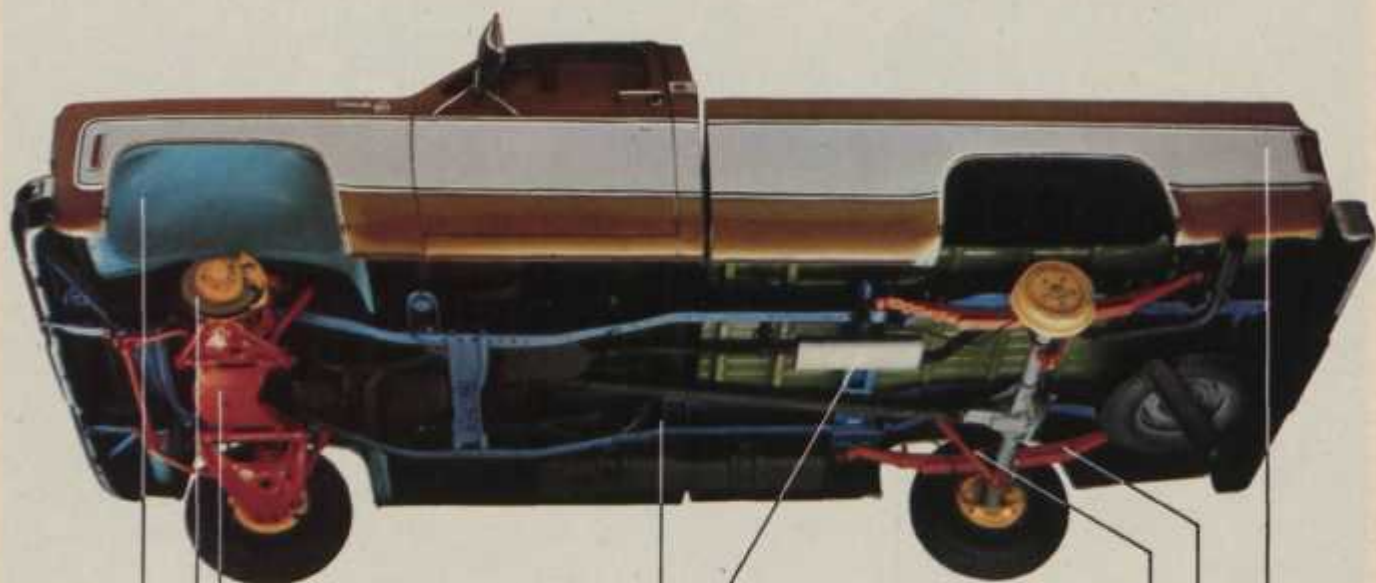
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Ladder-type steel frame uses deep-section channel side rails, riveted crossmembers for strength, rigidity and durability.

Aluminized muffler

uses heavy-gauge metal for shell and baffles. Aluminum coating inside and out adds corrosion protection.

Counter-angled rear shock absorbers are slanted, one forward and one aft, to help keep rear wheels firmly in contact with the pavement during acceleration and deceleration with heavy loads.

Multi-leaf rear springs provide a good ride with light loads, progressively firmer support as cargo weight increases.

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Nationwide Voter Registration by Mail?

The percentage of eligible Americans who vote in presidential elections has been declining in election after election.

While 63.1 percent of citizens of voting age participated in the presidential balloting in 1960, only 55.7 percent did so in 1972.

Most of those who did not vote had not bothered to register, and hence these citizens could not have cast ballots even if they had wanted to do so.

Some members of Congress believe the way to arrest the downward trend in voter participation is to make registering easier. Pending legislation would establish a nationwide system of registration by postcard, supervised by a Federal Voter Registration Administration. Forms, mailed out by this federal agency,

would go to state or local authorities.

Supporters of the legislation note that 14 states already allow voters to register by mail and argue that it should be national policy to assure the broadest possible participation in the electoral process.

The citizen can pay taxes by mail, it is pointed out. So why must he go to a government office, at what may be an inconvenient time, in order to register to vote?

Opponents of postcard registration, however, say that each state has historically been responsible for determining its own registration procedures and that this should continue to be the case.

In addition, opponents—including many business people—question whether creation of another federal bureaucracy to set up still another

complex regulatory system is the way to bring about increased voting. The proposed agency would have a budget of \$50 million a year at the outset, probably more later.

Those against a federal registration-by-mail plan also hold that each citizen has a responsibility to do the little that is necessary to register. They say citizens willing to make this effort should not be taxed to subsidize those who are not willing to make the effort.

Another argument is that there is a potential for fraud in nationwide registration by mail, because applications might fall into the wrong hands.

Should we have federally supervised voting registration by postcard?

What do you think?

PLEASE CLIP THIS FORM FOR YOUR REPLY

Kenneth W. Medley, Editor
Nation's Business
1615 H Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20062

Federally supervised voting registration by postcard? |

☐ Yes ☐ No

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Congressional Regulation of Regulators

Should Congress have veto authority over regulations issued by government agencies? Readers responding to that "Sound Off to the Editor" question, posed in *Nation's Business* in April, answer yes by a lopsided ratio of almost 18 to one.

Frank S. Burgen, senior vice president of The Celotex Corp., Tampa, Fla., expresses a sentiment shared by many respondents when he says that "Congress should not only have veto power but should be forced to accept such responsibility. Regulations by agencies have the effect of law, and laws are not supposed to be enacted except by Congress."

Mary M. Huffman, manager of Exit 2 Motel, Montpelier, Ohio, puts it a different way: "In business, if I make a decision, I'm responsible for the outcome. Why not Congress?"

Congress, says W. C. Hull, vice president of Rod Ric Corp., Midland, Texas, "should definitely have a veto power over all government agency orders. And the way a senator or representative votes on an order should be made public in the same manner

Home, Spring Valley, Wis., says: "More and more, the agencies' interpretation of the intent of Congress is 180 degrees out of step with what Congress really intended."

Richard L. Keenan, president of Waltham Chemical Co., Waltham, Mass., says that "bureaucrats lack the 'feel' of business. They lack ex-



Albert D. Nalven, president of Barrington Textile Group, Inc., New York, votes no. He says: "Congress would generally do what is politically expedient, as do the agencies. Why waste time?"

perience, education, proven skills. They punish, not educate. They create problems, not solve them."

T. E. Menighan, president of First Tyler Bank & Trust Co., Sistersville, W. Va., says: "We certainly do need some curb on the regulators. I spend 50 percent of my time trying to decipher the new regulations that come in daily. The other 50 percent of the time I try to run a business."

"At a time when the economic growth of our country depends on individual investment in small businesses," says Marilyn M. Harper, operator-manager of Wytheville KOA Kampground, Wytheville, Va., "it is dismaying, to say the least, to be harassed by an agency computer or official."

Wendell W. Fredenberg, sales manager of Burlington Northern, Inc., Havre, Mont., qualifies his yes. Congressional veto power over regulators "may help some," he says, "but the real solution is for Congress to repeal the laws which created so many of the unnecessary regulators."

A reaction of many who oppose a veto power is that it would create more work for an already overburdened Congress. John L. Conway,

executive vice president of First Cannelton National Bank, Cannelton, Ind., says that "Congress doesn't have time now to investigate thoroughly all the legislation that comes before it. It should be as thorough as possible when creating agencies, but then should have confidence in the individuals selected to run those agencies. If some of the regulations handed down are impractical, the industry affected will manage to correct the matter with the agency."

Charles J. Blanchard, executive vice president of the Midwest Industrial Management Association, Chicago, says: "I believe the present system to be sound, even though it is not working effectively at this time. It is a gross oversimplification to blame the bureaucrats. How about eliminating many of the regulatory controls and bodies?"

Others voting no express lack of faith in Congress.

"Congressmen would not take the time to investigate a regulatory agen-



William E. Norris, director of the Akron, Ohio, division of Burgess & Niple, Ltd., votes yes. He feels that "the power vested by Congress in regulatory agencies is appalling."

cy unless there was something in it for them," says Elmer M. Wrobley, division manager for Graham Paper Co., Memphis. "Regulations would be so tied down by do-nothing politicians that the good regulations would suffer, as would the people."

Gary P. Dowell, plant manager of Reichhold Polymers, Inc., Concord, N. C., feels that "there should be some type of check on the regulating agencies, but not a Congress that cannot solve the major economic problems facing the U. S. today."



E. A. Jarvis, division manager-operator service, Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., Wichita, Kans., says: "Someone has to regulate the regulators. The courts are too busy, slow, and costly."

as his vote on any congressional business."

Another reason cited by many is the one given by Harry C. Ward, president of Lutz American Hardware, Cherry Hill, N. J.: "We did not elect these regulators. We elected a Congress to make laws, not to pass that responsibility on to someone else."

Edwin J. Nelson, administrator of Spring Valley Municipal Nursing

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Why So Many Congressmen Are Calling It Quits

An increasing number of senators and representatives are renouncing their Capitol Hill careers. The explanation: frustration

AT 53, REP. William L. Hungate, given good health and a faithful constituency, might have looked forward to a quarter century of further service as a member of Congress.

Rep. Hungate, a Democrat, has represented Missouri's Ninth District for 12 years and has risen to an important House subcommittee chairmanship. But he has had his fill as a congressman. He is quitting.

In announcing his retirement from office, he said:

"The years erode tolerance, stamina, and patience. Where once criticism fell without impact, it now lands heavily. Since I entered office, the duties have increased dramatically, exceeded only by public dissatisfaction with Congress.

"Politics has gone from the age of Camelot, when all things were possible, to the age of Watergate, when all things are suspect."

It is not unusual for members of Congress to give up their positions because of age or ill health, or because they are afraid they can't win reelection, or even because they want other political offices. Today, however, more and more senators and representatives are following William

Hungate's lead and throwing in the towel for other reasons.

Record numbers

Resignations and retirements from Congress have been on an upward trend for years. Now, they have set a new record for a single session of Congress in both houses.

Fifty members of the House have retired or resigned.

Twenty of these representatives are seeking election to the Senate, and two are seeking the governorships of their states. One representative has left for a federal agency post, and one ran successfully for mayor of a major city.

Twenty-six are leaving public life.

The Senate is losing eight of its members, all of them leaving politics.

Impact on the next Congress

What impact these resignations and retirements will have on the next Congress, the 95th, cannot be known until after November's elections. But change is inevitable. The average age of senators and congressmen has been dropping in recent years. The vacancies will probably bring many younger people to Washington, so the av-

erage age of the 95th Congress is apt to be somewhat lower.

Still, numbers don't tell all the story. Gone will be men and women who have helped shape the destiny of this country for many years.

Legislators such as Mike Mansfield, of Montana, who has been Democratic leader of the Senate longer than anyone in history, and Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, longtime Republican leader of the Senate. Or Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D.-Mo.), a leading advocate of consumerism and the lawmaker most responsible for the national food stamp program.

Also, there are:

- Rep. Phil M. Landrum (D.-Ga.), coauthor of the sweeping Landrum-Griffin Labor Act.

- Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D.-La.), an expert on defense matters and advocate of a strong military establishment.

- Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), another acknowledged expert in matters of military defense.

- Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.), an archfoe of what he has regarded as monopolistic big business.

Sen. Mansfield, 73, a soft-spoken,



As he prepares to leave Congress, Rep. William L. Hungate can reflect on days he has spent walking his largely rural Missouri district to seek voter support. He cites public suspicion of Congress as one of his reasons for leaving.



PHOTOS: GEORGE TAMES

pipe-smoking former college professor, succinctly gave his reason for stepping down. He has had a front row seat on history for 34 years: ten as a representative, 24 as a senator. He was elected Senate majority whip in 1957 and majority leader four years later. He looks back over a period covering three wars, the dawn of the nuclear and space ages, and seven Presidents.

He told his Senate colleagues on the day he announced his retirement: "There is a time to stay and a time to go. Thirty-four years is not a long time, but it is time enough."

The underlying cause

Some are leaving Congress on a high note, others in bitterness. Aside from age or political ambitions outside the Capitol, frustration, more than anything else, seems to be the underlying cause. Frustration over the arduous nature of their jobs, frustration over increasing demands from constituents, frustration with the White House, frustration in trying to achieve reforms in government, frus-

tration over government bureaucracy generally.

Members of Congress are paid more than ever before, but many of them think they deserve better. They enjoy steadily increasing appropriations to hire larger staffs, make more telephone calls, acquire bigger offices, send out more mail, and make more trips home. But a growing number complain that the tools of office still are inadequate to cope with the complex problems of these times.

Senators and representatives are aware that, in the eyes of the American voter, they have been steadily losing stature, although they may work harder than other members of Congress in the past and have to be expert in a complex array of subjects. They are aware that their behavior in office is subjected to more and more scrutiny.

Also, the act of running to keep a seat in Congress is becoming increasingly expensive, and rigid election legislation has made it more difficult to raise money.

Republicans have added reason for

frustration. The Democrats have dominated Congress for the past 22 years, giving ranking Republicans little hope of running congressional committees.

Democrats in Congress, on the other hand, can point to frustration over increasing numbers of successful presidential vetoes of Democrat-sponsored legislation.

Seniority counts for less

While the seniority system nominally prevails in Congress, mere years of service no longer guarantee a coveted committee chairmanship and the power that once went with it. A chairman who is too autocratic runs the risk of losing his position.

Three powerful House chairmen were toppled from their posts at the start of the 94th Congress in January last year. The 77 Democratic freshmen demanded a voice in the affairs of the House, and they got it.

Canny old House Speaker Sam Rayburn's admonition that "to get along, you go along" had fallen by the wayside.



PHOTO: GEORGE BURNS

James F. Hastings quit Congress in frustration without finishing his fourth term. He now is president of a trade association in Albany, N. Y.

Some of the retirees, themselves approaching chairmanships under the old ways of seniority, might well have wondered if the wait were worth the risks. When Michigan's Rep. Edward Hutchinson, ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, decided to call it quits, he announced:

"I don't feel I can accomplish anything more in Congress. There isn't any fun in it anymore."

Less time for reflection

After 32 years in Congress, Rep. Thomas E. "Doc" Morgan (D.-Pa.) is giving up. A physician by training, he has been chairman of the House International Relations Committee for 18 years, longer than anyone in history.

He is concerned about the Congress of today, he says, because "there is a tremendous amount of legislative and investigative activity, but less and less time for reflection about where we are going and what we ought to be doing to leave a better world for our children."

Rep. Roy A. Taylor (D.-N.C.) was in sight of the chairmanship of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee when he decided to leave Congress. The chairman is 77-year-old Rep. James A. Haley (D.-Fla.). Says Rep. Taylor, who is 66:

"This decision has been reached with reluctance and after much thought, because I love the Congress as an institution and have great respect for its members, whose public image does not do them justice."

The Tarheel lawmaker suffers a hearing impairment from a recent ear infection, and he feels this may affect his capacity for work. His constituents apparently are willing to overlook that.

He explains:

"Supporters tell me that reelection is no problem, to 'stay in there but take it easy.' But it is not right that I occupy a seat in Congress without exerting my best effort."

"I have found no way of doing an effective job here without working 12 or more hours a day, and I have worked hard. Seniority not only pro-

vides opportunities for leadership, but it means more responsibility and a heavier work load."

Though few will admit it, a generous pension system has made the decision to retire much easier to reach. For example, former Republican Congressman Hastings Keith of Massachusetts says his pension has jumped from \$18,720 a year to \$26,400 since he retired three years ago. He had spent 14 years in the House and six years in the military and other federal service.

Beating the cost of living

Because federal pensions not only are tied to the cost of living, but also carry a one percent add-on to cover the lag between the time living costs go up and a pay adjustment is made, Mr. Keith says his pension shot nine percent above the 25 percent cost of living in the first 2½ years.

The former lawmaker, who is 60, believes the add-on formula is unrealistic. He estimates his pension will zoom to \$72,000 a year by 1990 if inflation continues at the rate of six

percent a year and he is still living.

Thomas M. Rees (D.-Calif.), a ten-year veteran of the House, is quitting Congress at age 51.

The media's huge appetite

"Like so many of my colleagues retiring this year, I find I am less tolerant of the demands of public office," he says. "I find the post-Watergate atmosphere to be a pall on what I consider to be a very honorable profession."

"The voracious appetite of the media for sensational news and the headlong rush by many of my brethren to satisfy that appetite have harmed any ability to deal reasonably and in depth with the matters before us."

Rep. David N. Henderson (D.-N.C.) was elected to the House in 1960 and worked his way up the seniority ladder on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In 1975, he was elected chairman. Now, he

has had enough and is leaving Congress. The hours are too long, and the chairmanship role has been less than satisfying. He has been spending 20 percent of his time on routine subcommittee chores—signing telephone bills and expense vouchers, approving supply orders, and the like. He explains:

"I asked myself: 'How does this help my constituents in the Third Congressional District of North Carolina?' The answer is, 'Not very much. Not much at all.'"

Rep. Herman T. Schneebeli (R.-Pa.) gives another reason for leaving Capitol Hill.

"My desire to pursue public service has been tempered by the frustrations of the job," he says. "Frustrations primarily in not being able to curb federal spending."

Mr. Schneebeli is ranking Republican on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee and would doubtless be its chairman if his party had

been able to win control of the House.

"We have seen the federal deficit go from \$43 billion last year to \$76 billion this year and a probable \$50 billion next year—\$169 billion in just three years," he says. "This is totally inexcusable. By next year, we will be paying \$110 million a day just on the interest on the national debt."

A captive to office?

Rep. William J. Randall (D.-Mo.) is bowing out for different reasons. At 66, he says, he can return to the practice of law, but if he serves another term in Congress it would then be too late to become an attorney again.

"I would be truly at the mercy of the office," he says. "I would become a captive who would have no choice but to continue to run term after term until I became physically and mentally exhausted and then faced almost certain defeat. After such a defeat, all that is left is a legacy of

A ROLL CALL OF THOSE

STATE	SENATE	STATE	HOUSE (cont.)
Arizona	Sen. Paul J. Fannin (R.)	Delaware	Rep. Pierre S. du Pont IV (R.)**
Hawaii	Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R.)	Georgia	Rep. Phil M. Landrum (D.) Rep. Robert G. Stephens, Jr. (D.) Rep. William S. Stuckey, Jr. (D.)
Michigan	Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.)	Hawaii	Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga (D.)* Rep. Patsy T. Mink (D.)*
Missouri	Sen. Stuart Symington (D.)	Indiana	Rep. Philip H. Hayes (D.)*
Montana	Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.)	Louisiana	Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D.)
Nebraska	Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R.)	Maryland	Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes (D.)* Rep. Gilbert Gude (R.)
Pennsylvania	Sen. Hugh Scott (R.)	Massachusetts	Rep. Torbert H. Macdonald (D.)
Rhode Island	Sen. John O. Pastore (D.)	Michigan	Rep. Marvin L. Esch (R.)* Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R.) Rep. Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D.)* Rep. James G. O'Hara (D.)*
	HOUSE		
Alabama	Rep. Robert E. Jones (D.)		
Arizona	Rep. Sam Steiger (R.)* Rep. John B. Conlan (R.)*		
Arkansas	Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D.)		
California	Rep. Thomas M. Rees (D.) Rep. Alphonzo Bell (R.)*		

bitterness that will never be erased."

Mr. Randall, chairman of a new House Select Committee on Aging, says a congressman now must accept a change in public attitude as a burden of his job.

Less respect

"Today," Mr. Randall says, "one who plans to run for public office must understand in advance that he may have to do without the kind words and measure of respect and regard that were shown those in public office in former years."

Proportionately, Missouri is losing more of its congressional delegation to retirement and resignation than any other state. Half of its House members—five Democrats—and one of its two senators are leaving. In numbers, only Pennsylvania is losing more of its delegation—four Republicans and two Democrats in the House and Hugh Scott in the Senate.

Among the Pennsylvanians is Re-

publican Rep. Edward G. Biester, Jr., a 45-year-old fifth term.

He says:

"I concluded that the House of Representatives should not be the long and final resting place for professional politicians, but rather a citizens forum, receiving, in regular bursts, fresh blood—frequent injections of the vitality of the people of America, to whom the government should always be responsive."

When Rep. James F. Hastings (R.-N. Y.) made up his mind to go, he moved swiftly. Last December, he accepted the presidency of Associated Industries of New York State, an Albany-based, 2,800-member trade association.

He tendered his resignation to the House in January, quitting in the middle of his fourth term.

"I came up to age 49 without having a great deal to show for it," he says. "Taking a look at the next 12 to 14 years of productive life, I de-



Senators use many a spare moment to catch up on their work. For Sen. Hiram Fong (R.-Hawaii), the grind has become too much. He is a member of two dozen subcommittees.

WHO ARE BOWING OUT

STATE	HOUSE (cont.)	STATE	HOUSE (cont.)
Minnesota	Rep. Joseph E. Karth (D.)	Pennsylvania	Rep. Edward G. Biester, Jr. (R.) Rep. Edwin D. Eshleman (R.) Rep. Herman T. Schneebeli (R.) Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D.) Rep. William J. Green (D.)* Rep. H. John Heinz III (R.)*
Missouri	Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D.) Rep. William J. Randall (D.) Rep. William L. Hungate (D.) Rep. James W. Symington (D.)* Rep. Jerry Litton (D.)*	Rhode Island	Rep. Edward P. Beard (D.)*
Montana	Rep. John Melcher (D.)*	Tennessee	Rep. Richard H. Fulton (D.)† Rep. Joe L. Evins (D.)
Nebraska	Rep. John Y. McCollister (R.)*	Texas	Rep. Bob Casey (D.)‡ Rep. Alan Steelman (R.)*
New Jersey	Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (D.)	Virginia	Rep. Thomas N. Downing (D.)
New York	Rep. James F. Hastings (R.) Rep. Peter A. Peyser (R.)*	West Virginia	Rep. Ken Hechler (D.)*
North Carolina	Rep. David N. Henderson (D.) Rep. Roy A. Taylor (D.)		
Ohio	Rep. Charles A. Mosher (R.) Rep. James V. Stanton (D.)*		
Oklahoma	Rep. John Jarman (R.)		

* To run for the Senate

** To run for governor

† Elected mayor of Nashville, Tenn.

‡ Appointed to Federal Maritime Commission



The post-Watergate atmosphere casts a pall on what Rep. Thomas M. Rees (D-Calif.) believes to be an honorable profession. He is bowing out after ten years in Congress.

cided I couldn't spend them here under the circumstances and frustrations I see in this legislative body."

The low esteem in which some people hold public officials had become a personal matter with Jim Hastings. His 14-year-old daughter's class in a small, upstate New York school had been told by a teacher: "All politicians are crooks." While the teacher was speaking in generalities, according to Mr. Hastings, his daughter could not help feeling the remark was directed at her, since not many politicians' children are students at her school.

\$19,000 in debt

"I keep hearing that all politicians are crooks, and I am trying to figure where I missed out," the former congressman says. "I've got maybe \$800 in the bank, and I owe \$19,000 over and above the mortgage."

When he came to Congress in 1969, he owned a \$40,000 house with a mortgage which was down to \$1,500, he says, and when he departed, he had a \$70,000 house with a \$45,000 mortgage.

As with many members of Congress who have no outside income, Mr. Hastings found it increasingly difficult to live within his means, even though he was drawing a \$44,625-a-year salary.

"You'll never get anyone to feel sorry for you when you're earning \$40,000—not in my district," he says.

Not once in the six months since he

left the House has he regretted the decision to drop out, he says.

"I find my new job challenging and interesting," he explains. "And what a relief: I don't have to go out on weekends any more knocking on doors, and I don't have to go to bar mitzvahs and barbecues just to please the voters."

For Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R-Hawaii), approaching 70, the Capitol Hill grind has become too much. His family prevailed on him to give up the rigors of public office.

"With each passing year in the Senate, my work load and responsibilities have increased, and the demands on my time and energy have escalated," he says. "The number of hearings I must attend and the number of issues on which I must be informed have increased, together with the complexity of issues which we in the Senate handle."

On 24 subcommittees

Sen. Fong serves on two major committees—Appropriations and Judiciary—as well as two lesser committees.

All told, the senator is a member of 24 subcommittees.

Maintaining personal contact with his voters has not been easy for the senator, because of the great distances involved. The Hawaiian lawmaker explains:

"The jet travel between Hawaii and Washington, D. C., takes a great toll physically. My biological time

clock requires longer to adjust. On the average, one week is needed to make the adjustment. Since I make eight or nine trips a year, this means that during about one third of each year I am struggling to readjust to the time change while still performing my duties as a senator."

Rep. Charles A. Mosher (R-Ohio), who turns 70 this month, says one reason he is bowing out is that "I am becoming hungry for privacy."

Congressional enslavement

For those who think that being a member of Congress is a bed of roses, here is Mr. Mosher's assessment:

"It requires an onerously demanding, hectic, fragmented schedule of seldom less than seven days per week and often many more than 12 working hours per day, constantly harried by call bells, phone bells, and committee sessions—frequently shuttling between two or more meetings at the same time.

"At every turn, there are deserving people insistently crowding to capture your momentary attention—to confer, to report, to assist, to argue, to request, to demand or plead, to compliment, criticize, invite. They are staff people, bureaucrats, lobbyists, reporters, colleagues, a steady stream of valued constituents, and varied others. All that, plus the House debates, caucuses, briefings, working breakfasts, working lunches, receptions, dinners, homework study, and even midnight collect calls from drunks—you name it."

He continues:

"It is a congressman's inescapable lot to be never alone, never free from incessant buffeting by people, events, problems, decisions; and always, the ubiquitous, skeptical newsmen and other critics are looking very closely over one's shoulder, intently watching, questioning, assessing every word or move. That's the way it should be. . . ."

Summing up, Mr. Mosher says that being a congressman is "rigorous servitude, ceaseless enslavement to a peculiar mix of everyone else's needs, demands, and whims, plus one's own sense of duty, ambition, or vanity.

"It is that from which Mrs. Mosher and I now declare our personal independence, as of Jan. 3, 1977." END

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Should you lease or buy equipment? Now you will know which way it's cheaper to get new equipment, trucks, cars or machinery.

Can your family's medical expenses be treated as a business expense? You see how a simple arrangement with your business allows you to deduct all the doctor and hospital bills for your family.

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How to Get More Useful Ideas for Your Company

BY ROBERT J. DULSKY

Open-discussion meetings are a management tool that can bring great benefits to your business

ARE YOU SURE your people speak up as freely and critically as they should at company meetings? When they speak, does it seem to be a replay of what you, the boss, said?

What about the quiet one with a slight frown on his face? What constructive criticisms might he make if he felt free to speak frankly?

At Tax Corp. of America, we wanted to reemphasize and reinforce orientation toward objectives on the part of all company personnel. We also wanted to improve intracompany communications. And we wanted to gain knowledge of ideas from all our people and to make full use of their suggestions.

With these goals in mind, we started holding truly wide-open meetings at all levels of management, with unfettered and uninhibited freedom of expression. Everyone present at any of our meetings is encouraged to speak freely. If someone feels like it, he can call any other proposal cockeyed, even if the proposal was made by the boss.

Do you want to obtain the benefits of wide-open meetings at your company, too?

Starting wide-open meetings

To start anything new in a company, all involved must be convinced that top management is sincerely behind the change. If the boss is believed to be merely repeating what a consultant told him or simply quoting the latest book on management, his subordinates will doubt that he really means what he is saying.

And, of course, the program should not be started unless he does believe in it. Sincerity is a necessity.

The steps you take to start wide-open meetings depend upon the size of the company.

The president of a large company may choose to start with his senior executives and proceed from there



DRAWING: CHARLES A. BOHN

to lower-level managers. He may also choose to enlist the aid of an experienced consulting firm.

The head of a small company of, say, 20 employees may well choose to involve everyone, starting with the first meeting.

Setting your goals

You must keep in mind at all times the goals you want to achieve from open-discussion meetings. Here are three:

- *Orientation toward objectives.*

Wide-open meetings are an excellent way to get



every executive oriented toward objectives instead of toward problems.

For example, an American manufacturer was seriously considering entering the European market. At a meeting to discuss it, the most talkative senior executive present said he felt the company lacked the necessary knowledge and experience to enter the market. He blocked the idea from the outset.

The other executives present had seemed to agree that the objective was a good one.

If there had been a history of wide-open meetings at that company, anyone present could have felt comfortable pointing out what the senior executive was

doing wrong. He was directing attention toward the problems involved instead of considering how to achieve a desirable objective.

A junior executive could have changed the course of his company if he had felt free to disagree with his boss and to point out how the goal might be achieved.

- *Improved communication.*

A second goal can be to improve both horizontal and vertical communications within the company. In the example just given, it is likely that there was not free communication even among executives on equal and adjacent levels. In that company, communication from personnel further down the ladder was probably even more inhibited.

- *Better corporate climate.*

Wide-open meetings can also help establish a company climate in which management shares the responsibility of mistakes with the people making them. Individuals who are already oriented toward objectives will feel encouraged and free to innovate.

In many companies, the attitude is all too prevalent that any method other than management's own is wrong.

Thus, top managers discourage new ideas by being overly critical of mistakes.

In companies like that, executives tend to magnify problems and kill any effort to reach the objective. In that way, they duck the responsibility of tackling new problems.

Open meetings can establish a different decision-making climate. For example, an executive of an East Coast manufacturing firm proposed that a factory and warehouse be built in California. The objective: To save costs of shipping the firm's products to the West Coast market.

In meetings, problems were brought up—and dis-



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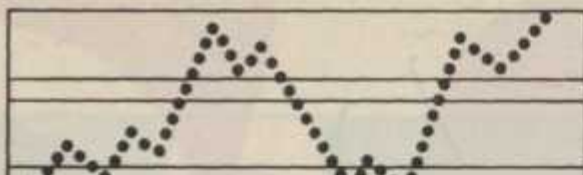
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cussed. Finally, a cost-benefit analysis was suggested. It showed that the benefits to the company were well worth the costs, and the new facility was built. If the many problems discussed in meetings had been magnified, the project might have been scrapped without even considering the benefits.

A company challenge

One of a company's biggest challenges is providing a work climate where individuals can fully utilize their own resources and realize psychological growth. The practice of holding wide-open meetings contributes to such a climate.

For one thing, the practice is an aid in overcoming timidity.

The individual who was formerly bashful or fearful about speaking freely will feel much less reluctant to speak up if others are doing so and if he is encouraged to do the same.

No personal attacks

By emphasizing that it is the idea or proposal which may be attacked in an open meeting, and not the person presenting it, many more constructive criticisms will be forthcoming. You will always find more ideas or proposed solutions to problems presented if the proponents have a reduced fear of loss of stature, money, face, or position.

Open-discussion meetings are a strong encouragement for all who are present to participate in the suggestion process.

Companies which are oriented toward objectives usually follow this basic pattern when making a decision:

1. Analyze the idea or proposed project for its benefits to the company.
2. State the problems involved in attaining this objective.
3. Propose solutions to the problems.
4. Make a decision based on benefits to the company versus the costs.

Wide-open meetings help avoid the trap of lumping together the proposal and the problems involved in carrying it out. Otherwise, if the problems are severe, the objective tends to be rejected without even considering solutions.

In a wide-open meeting, if anyone sees the boss falling into that trap, he is free to point out the error and retrieve the situation.

Is Tax Corp. of America a perfect example of how to hold open meetings? No, we are not. But we are better than we were a year ago. And we are working at it daily.

END

MR. DULSKY is president of Tax Corp. of America, a company which provides income tax preparation service and personal financial management services. Reprints of this article are available from Nation's Business. See page 50 for details.

An Easy Way to Change Jobs

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However, first let me tell you what I have.

I've got a *copyrighted job changing system* that you can use to move up in your field, or out to another field, but at significantly higher earnings.

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The reason we developed it was because with 85 million employed, and 18 million circulating resumes each year, this area was ready for some revolutionary ideas.

We knew more people than ever owned prestige cars & yachts, summer homes and international retreats, as well as having securities, real estate holdings and lots of cash in the bank.

In short, many people in the U.S. are living good lives!

At the same time, however, the great majority have no excess cash, little job security, and are frequently restless, bored with their jobs, commuting long hours, and harassed by inflation!

We asked ourselves how do people get to live the "good life"?

Well, we found that most successful people were there because they never wasted time in dead-end situations!

What these people did was to make crucial job changes, and *parlay* their higher earnings into small fortunes!

Take a look at the economics!

Do you realize that if you were to change jobs every 4 years, at an average annual increase of \$4,000, and then put the increases in the bank at 6%,—that in 20 years you'd accumulate an extra half million dollars!

Getting raises is one thing, but getting significant increases because of

job changes is a very important source for wealth!

The next question then, is how can you easily change jobs? This is where the unique system we've developed fits in.

Our system can work for anyone from \$8,000 to \$80,000. Do it right and you'll gain higher earnings, lifelong job security, but most of all, *everlasting* self confidence!

This is because once you've used it, you'll know you can *always* get a new job,—quickly and predictably.

Perhaps you're wondering why our system works? Well, it works because it's a *completely different approach*, based on totally new concepts.

But, also because it's simple, practical, and self-tailoring. You could start next week—and do it *without strain, confusion or worry*.

But, there is one catch! You won't be a success if you use old methods for dealing with recruiters & agencies, for answering ads & sending out letters, for handling interviews & negotiating salary.

To make more money without a hassle, you'll have to be willing to change. You'll also have to follow our system, have an open mind & have faith in yourself.

However, do this and a better life will be yours!

With our system, whatever you seek—a better job, a new career, higher pay, more satisfaction,—*I believe nothing can stop your success!*

Not age, sex, education, or even low earnings or past working history.

Personnel Magazine said we have a "breakthrough."

The National Public Accountant even said it was "capable of catapulting any average person into a position offering much greater rewards."

However, your best proof of our system is that we've already received thousands of letters from grateful customers.

Letters like one from a gentleman in California who wrote: "In 4 weeks I changed jobs and raised my salary 33%! I wish I had it 10 years ago!"

Another man from New York said "I used one of your letters, sent 24 out, and got 13 interviews and 3 job offers!"

Still another from California said "In just 11 days I received an offer of \$7,000 more!"

I know this sounds almost too easy and I can't promise that you will do as well. But, then again you may do better!

Even the largest business magazine in the U.S., *Nation's Business*, said our materials were "incredibly effective."

Now, if you're serious about wanting to move up, then I know that our system is something you've got to have!

In fact, I'm so convinced that you'll agree that it's worth *hundreds of times the cost*, that I'll make sure you have nothing to lose.

First of all, when your order arrives, we'll ship within 24 hours. No delays!

Secondly, you can examine our system for 10 days.

Third, if at the end of that time you are dissatisfied, return it, & I personally guarantee your 100% refund will be mailed in 3 working days—with no questions asked!

To let me prove everything I've said, and to take advantage of this nothing-to-lose offer, just fill in and mail me the coupon below.

Performance Dynamics Inc.
Attn: Mr. Robert Jameson, President
17 Grove Avenue
Verona, New Jersey 07044

Dear Mr. Jameson:

Your offer sounds great! Please rush me your Professional Job Changing System right away, but on one condition. I understand I may examine it for 10 days. & if at the end of that time I return it, you will mail my full refund within 3 working days, with no questions asked. On that basis, here's my \$10, plus .50 for postage and handling.

- ☐ Enclosed is my check or money order
☐ Chg. Bank Amer. ☐ Chg. Amer. Expr.
☐ Chg. Master Chg. ☐ Chg. Diners Club

Acct. # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please note: Shipment is via parcel post.
For spec. del. add \$2.00, for U.S. air add \$3.50, for fgn. air add \$7.00 NBS

New Jersey residents add sales tax

Mr. Jameson's ideas have been the subject of more than five hundred articles, ranging from 600 words in *Business Week* to 3,000 words in *Chicago Today*. This material has also been nationally advertised in leading media including *The Wall Street Journal*, *Scientific American*, *Nation's Business*, *Signature*, *The New York Times*, *Newsweek International*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *American Scientist*, *Income Opportunities*, *Time*, *Specialty Salesman*, *Success Unlimited*, *Chemist*, *Forbes*, *New York*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *True & others*.

© 1975 Performance Dynamics, Inc.

Why Wage Demands May Moderate

Inflationary expectations, not unemployment rates, have been most important in determining wage increase rates, this expert says.
Here is a look at the future

BY GARY M. WENGLOWSKI

Many economists are optimistic that inflation will not increase again soon. Some even look for further moderation.

These views are based on the observation that there is a large amount of unused labor and plant capacity in the nation's economy. As a result, the thinking goes, competition for jobs among unemployed workers and for sales among businessmen with underutilized plants will hold down wage and price increases.

However, the post-World War II economic experience suggests that the degree of unused labor and plant capacity in the nation's economy is difficult to measure accurately and

that the relationship between unused resources and inflation is a shifting one.

Fluctuating Phillips Curves

Take the evidence offered by the Phillips Curve—named for a British economist who was the first researcher to present graphically the relationship between the unemployment rate and wage and price increases. Drawn on a chart with the unemployment rate on the horizontal axis and the change in wages or prices on the vertical scale, the Phillips Curve usually slopes downward to the right, indicating that higher unemployment rates will be accom-

panied by smaller increases in wages and prices.

Viewing the postwar period as a whole, the U. S. economy appears to have operated along different Phillips Curves at different times—1952-55, 1956-59, 1960-67, 1970-73, and 1974-75.

With the exception of the 1960-67 period, these Phillips Curves have tended to shift upward. This means that higher and higher rates of increase in wages and prices have been experienced at similar unemployment rate levels as the postwar period progressed.

Timing is a clue

Let's take a look at unemployment rates and increases in hourly labor compensation during four years. The unemployment rates have been adjusted to assume a constant age-sex mix of the labor force, in order to remove the upward bias in standard unemployment figures introduced by rising numbers of female and teenage job-seekers.

	Unemployment Rate	Increase in Hourly Pay
1954	5.7%	3.2%
1959	5.4	4.5
1971	5.3	6.7
1975	4.8	9.5

The timing of the apparent shifts in the unemployment-wage increase relationship gives a clue to the likely causes. Upward shifts in the Phillips Curves—1956, 1970, 1974—were preceded by increases in the inflation rate in consumer prices, and the one downward shift, in 1960, occurred about two years after inflation moderated.



Dr. Wenglowski, a vice president of Goldman, Sachs & Co., New York investment bankers and brokers, specializes in forecasting economic conditions.

How To Cut 5 to 15 Strokes Off Your Score — Guaranteed!

By Phil Cooper
©1975, Lincoln Press

If you play golf I would like to send you something that comes in a plain brown wrapper.

No — not dirty pictures or anything like that!

But it is something that you won't want your friends and golfing partners to know you have.

Not for a while, anyway.

Here's why:

I'm going to send you five minutes worth of reading material that will show you a guaranteed way to take 5 to 15 strokes off your golf score — and do it so fast that your friends are going to think you've taken private lessons from Johnny Miller.

I'd like you to try this method the very next time you play without telling anyone what you are doing.

That's because I'm afraid that if you tell anyone about the secret method before you start on it, they might be able to talk you out of it. They'll try to tell you that there is just no way to improve your game so much without private, professional lessons.

But there is.

And, I'm sure that if you try it privately for just one round of golf — no one will ever be able to talk you out of it then.

Before I go on, I'd like to tell you that I am not a golf pro or anything like that.

I'm a businessman.

A short time ago, I was a businessman who could never break 100 for eighteen holes. Not anymore.

I still don't shoot in the seventies, but finally, after years of being little better than a duffer, I consistently shoot in the eighties.

It's wonderful.

For years I struggled to bring down my score. I tried everything — practice, practice, practice — read miracle golf books — bought special golf gloves — took lessons — went to the driving range — everything. Then, by accident, I stumbled onto the real secret of cutting strokes off my game. The very first round I played after I discovered this secret, I broke 100 for the very first time.

The secret is simple — but I'm not about to give it away for nothing. What I've been able to do is "smarten up" my game — and by doing this I took almost 30 strokes off my score all told. (I haven't been able to break 70 yet, but I will!)

I know it sounds impossible — but I've actually learned to "smarten up" my game — after everything else I tried (and cost me a fortune) had failed miserably.

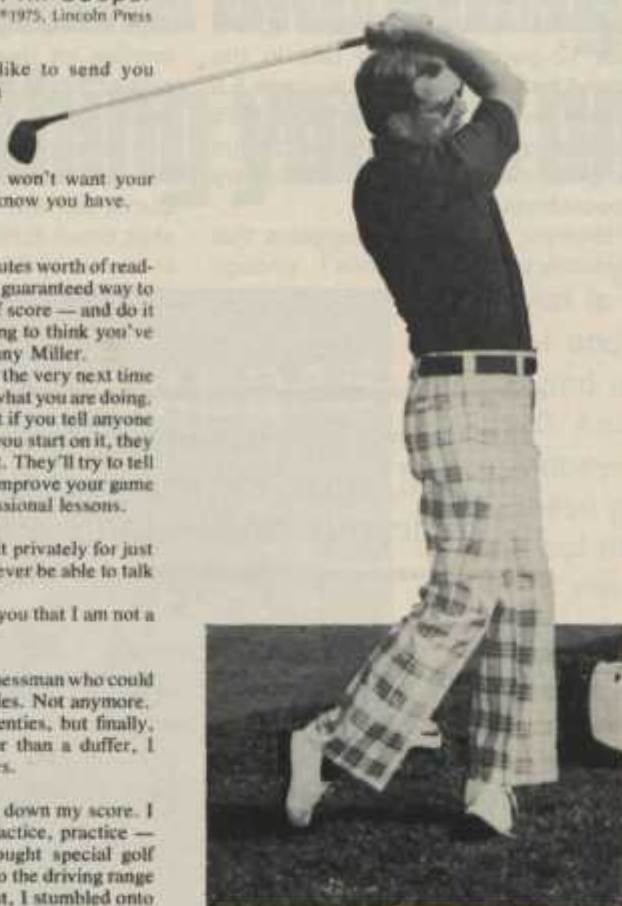
Before — it seemed that I was hooking or slicing on every drive — continually in the traps or rough — and 3-putting every hole. After I made my amazingly simple discovery — my drives went down the middle of the fairway — my irons put me on the green — and my putting improved tremendously.

It was so simple, in fact, that I haven't yet figured out why no one ever thought of it before. But, since I've read every book on golf I could find — and tried all the "gimmicks" — I can assure you that I've never seen this secret printed anywhere before.

When my friends saw how much my game had improved they asked me to give them my secret. I typed out the complete details on my secret — the step-by-step, easy-to-follow method that had cut all those strokes off my game. For lack of a better name I called it "The Phil Cooper Golf Improvement Plan."

I gave it to three friends who make up my regular foursome. It worked for them, too. Their game improved as much as mine.

Now, you and I both know that there's a lot of money to be made for the person who comes up with a method for cutting strokes — a method that



really works. I am certain that I have done just that!

But, was our new golfing success a fluke? Perhaps there was something special about our foursome that made this "miracle" possible. I don't believe that for a moment!

However, I MUST PROVE IT NOW!

For, once I prove that my golf secret works — really works — I will offer it to all golfers for \$25 — and it will be worth every penny of it. (How many times have you said to yourself that you'd pay a fortune to take 15 strokes off your score?)

So, to prove that my secret works for all golfers — I'll teach it to you — and to a limited number of other golfers — for little more than the price of having it printed up.

Remember, I'm willing to do this for my own selfish reason. Once YOU have succeeded — once YOU have taken off those strokes — I'll probably make a mint when I offer the PROVEN plan through newspapers and magazines.

But, you must make me a promise. You must report your stroke losses to me promptly — first when you take 5 strokes off your score — then when you break 100 — when you break 90. This will be the proof I need.

I feel certain that it makes no difference whether you are a man or a woman (it works for both) — whether you are young or old — whether you've taken lessons or not — THIS METHOD WILL WORK or it won't cost you a single penny!

There is only one way for you to see if I'm right — to get your guaranteed copy of "The Phil Cooper Golf Improvement Plan" — and that's to order it now — by mail. It's not yet available at any bookstore or pro shop in the world — at any price.

In fact, you might be interested to know that the Plan has been Registered and Copyrighted with the U.S. Government so that the secret cannot be copied or stolen.

Furthermore, you can order it without a worry because you are protected by an ironclad, 100% no-risk Double Guarantee of cutting strokes from your game:

- 1) If you don't like the Plan when it arrives — for any reason under the sun — send it back for a full refund — absolutely no questions asked.
- 2) Or, keep and use the Plan for as long as you like. You are still protected. You must cut those strokes from your score — or return the Plan at any time. You still get every penny of your money back without quibble or question. You are the sole judge and jury. Isn't this the fairest guarantee you've ever seen?

To get your guaranteed copy of "The Phil Cooper Golf Improvement Plan" —

- 1) Print your name and address clearly on the coupon below.
- 2) Attach your check, cash or money order for just \$10.
- 3) Mail to me: Phil Cooper, 964 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

Let me repeat. It makes absolutely no difference how many ways you've already tried to improve your game dramatically — your time for real success has finally come.

Send for your guaranteed copy of my Golf Improvement Plan as soon as you can — TODAY if possible.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

Make your check payable and mail to:

Phil Cooper
964 Third Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10022.

Yes! I want to cut strokes off my score once and for all. Rush me my guaranteed copy of your Golf Improvement Plan. Here is my \$10. I promise I will report to you when I have broken 90 — when I have broken 80. I understand that I run absolutely no risk since I am protected by your 100% Double Guarantee of golfing improvement shown above. Thank you for this chance to share your golf improvement secret!

You May Charge My:

☐ Master Charge ☐ BankAmericard

Acct # _____

Inter Bank # _____
(Master Charge only above your name)

Card Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Print Name _____
Mr. _____
Mrs. _____
Miss _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please send the material airmail. I am enclosing an extra \$2.00 to cover the cost.

OL-681

Why have different rates of increase in wages and prices accompanied relatively similar rates of unemployment in the postwar period? The major reason is change in inflationary expectations among workers and businessmen.

Real costs and benefits

In deciding how aggressively to compete for available jobs, an unemployed worker compares the real economic benefits and the real costs of going back to work.

The net real economic gain from being reemployed is the wage the worker expects to earn, over and above the amount of unemployment benefits, food stamps, and welfare payments received while unemployed, all adjusted for the expected price level. The real cost of going back to work would include the decline in leisure time and any sacrifices involved in a worker's taking a job outside his preferred field.

Expectations among potential workers that inflation will be higher in the near future reduce the anticipated real value of a given wage rate. At the same time, if benefits for the unemployed are tied to the Consumer Price Index to compensate for increasing prices, the real value of the benefits received while out of work may be maintained. Therefore, the expected net real economic gain from going back to work falls as inflationary expectations pick up.

It might be noted that, since 1966, the average weekly unemployment benefit paid under state programs in the U. S. has risen 65 percent—about the same as the increase in consumer prices over the period. But this excludes the effect of new programs introduced to help the unemployed, such as food stamps, which are increased to compensate for rising food prices.

Workers compete less aggressively for available jobs if they expect higher inflation. And a higher rate of increase in wages is necessary to satisfy business's demand for labor, despite the existence of a large number of unemployed workers. Meanwhile, increased inflationary expectations reduce business resistance to paying these larger wage increases, since employers expect to be able to

pass the increases on through higher prices.

Inflationary expectations of workers and businessmen are the wild card in the determination of the wage and price outlook for 1976 and beyond. The decline in inflation from a peak 12 percent annual rate in the second half of 1974 to an average 5.5 percent for the fourth quarter of 1975 and first quarter of 1976 has begun the process of deflating inflationary expectations.

However, experience suggests that inflationary expectations change

es are likely to be significantly smaller than in 1975, in part because of reduced inflationary expectations.

After subtracting the long-term trend growth rate in labor productivity, an eight percent rate of expansion in hourly labor compensation implies an underlying price inflation rate of five to six percent for the U. S. economy.

If inflation actually averages five to six percent during 1976, the Phillips Curve for the U. S. economy could shift down further toward its position in the early 1970's. And if the unem-

"Despite a lower unemployment rate in 1976, wage increases are likely to be significantly smaller than in 1975."

slowly, particularly in the downward direction. As previously noted, the only downward shift in the unemployment-wage increase relationship in the postwar period, which occurred sometime around 1960, was preceded by almost two years of reduced inflation rates.

Inflationary expectations are now probably receding from where they were in 1974 and 1975. But the 1974-75 inflation was high enough for long enough to suggest that current inflationary expectations are still higher than they were in 1970-1973. Therefore, the economy in 1976 may be operating on a Phillips Curve that is lower than in 1974-75 but is higher than in 1970-73.

Currently, the adjusted unemployment rate is around 6.7 percent, and it could average somewhat lower than that for 1976 as a whole. An adjusted 1976 unemployment rate in the 6.5 percent area and a Phillips Curve roughly midway between those in 1974-75 and 1970-73 imply an average increase in hourly labor compensation in 1976 of eight percent or less—compared with 9.2 percent last year.

Therefore, despite a lower unemployment rate in 1976, wage increas-

employment rate declines gradually, wage increases could moderate further in 1977. This could in turn lead to even lower price inflation and a further drop in the Phillips Curve.

How to prevent a spiral

In contrast to this downward ratcheting in wage and price inflation, an upward wage-price spiral would be likely if the unemployment rate dropped too rapidly and inflationary expectations increased. With the economic recovery currently strong and likely to become even stronger, monetary and fiscal policies designed to slow the recovery to a sustainable cruising speed by early 1977 are the key to preventing an upturn in price increases, inflation fears, and wage increases.

In addition, many specific actions could be considered to hasten the drop in the Phillips Curve. For example, some limit on future increases in benefits paid to unemployed workers would increase labor market competitiveness. And on the other hand, business could be discouraged from building anticipated cost increases into prices, since such anticipatory pricing tends to prolong the adjustment to lower inflation.

Meet your new delivery drivers. They think clutching is something you do on a date.



It's no secret. The new breed of pick up and delivery drivers know as much about driving a manual transmission as they do about goat roping.

It's not their fault. They were raised on automatics. But where does that leave you, if your fleet has nothing but manuals. It leaves you up a creek. But you don't have to stay there.

You see, everyday a lot of fleet owners are switching over to the Allison Automatic transmission. The AT 540. Why? Because it's made for their job.


That is why so many of the major commercial and private fleets plus the largest rental and leasing fleets are specifying the AT 540. And they bought them for one reason: Money. That's right, money.

These guys are businessmen. And they found out that their savings on transmission related maintenance and repairs alone added up to so much dough that it made it worth the extra cost of the transmission.

But let's get to fuel economy. Some people still think automatics waste fuel. But you'd be surprised what fleet owners of Allison Automatics are getting. And if you'll send in this coupon we'll send you a brochure that tells the story. With charts, graphs, details, results. Everything it takes to explode that old myth about the automatic wasting fuel.

Do yourself a favor. Test drive an Allison AT 540 in your fleet. It's one of the best investments you'll ever make. Ask anyone who's tried it. They'll never go back. And neither will you.

Just clip this coupon and we'll send you the whole story on Allison Automatics. How they work. What they'll do. And why. Mail to:

 Norm Eggers, Sales Manager
Detroit Diesel Allison
P.O. Box 81, Birmingham, Mich. 48012

NAME _____

COMPANY _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

AT01-NB-06-AC

The Allison Automatics



Some of America's costliest truck accidents happen right here.

They happen when the decision is made to own your own fleet of trucks, rather than lease them.

Because when you own your own trucks, you also own their financial and management headaches. Including heavy up-front capital expenditures, breakdowns, unexpected engine overhauls, maintenance, labor costs, spare parts, uncertain fuel costs, delivery problems, taxes, and expensive management time to keep it all together.

Many companies have stopped owning their trucks and started leasing them instead for realistic money and management reasons.

And when they found leasing best, many found Hertz best for leasing.

The reasons are simple.

Hertz has nationwide over-the-road capability for heavy trucks from Seattle to Miami.

Hertz has also developed new innovative services exclusively for our customers. Such as:

Our S.O.S. Emergency Road Service. It operates toll-free 24 hours a day, 365 days a

year. And our computerized Preventive Maintenance Scheduling Program. Because we'd rather maintain a truck on schedule now, than take it out of service later.

Finally, we can get you into a lease program easily, even if you own your own trucks now. We buy your trucks, at a fair price. Then we'll either replace them with new vehicles, or refurbish them, and lease them back.

Then you can do the same thing many other executives do. Concentrate on your business and leave the truck to Hertz.

For further information on Hertz big truck leasing, mail to Edward H. Blickstein, Vice President, Sales, Hertz Trucks, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10021. Or call collect (212) 752-2000.

806

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Company _____

Title _____

Hertz leases Fords and other sturdy trucks.

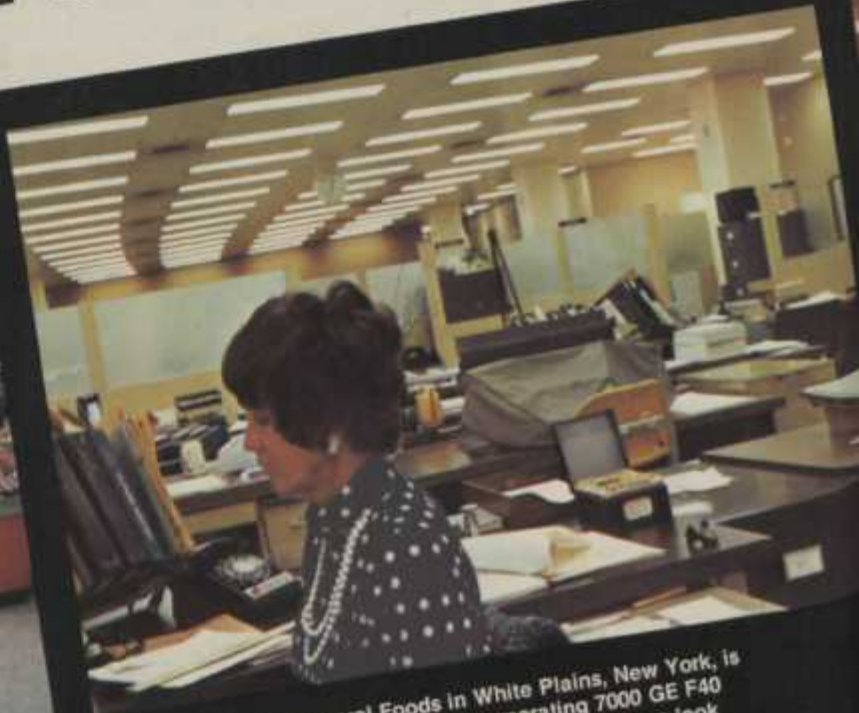
When a leased truck is best, the best lease is Hertz.

Hertz Truck

Join the group of savers....



This 33,000 sq. ft. food store, one of Red Owl's 350 corporate and franchise stores in the Northern Midwest, was the first to be selected by Don Callahan, Red Owl's Manager of Store Construction and Maintenance, for group relamping with GE F40 Watt-Misers. This suburban Minneapolis store, by using 1988 F40 Watt-Misers, will reduce its annual electric bill for lighting by almost \$1,900, based on the chain's 3.6¢/KWH power rate.



This office area of General Foods in White Plains, New York, is part of a group relamping program incorporating 7000 GE F40 Watt-Misers. At a nominal 7¢/KWH, General Foods can look forward to an annual reduction of \$7,350 in electricity costs, or about \$22,000 over their 36-month group relamping cycle.

Every lighting installation GE's F40 Watt-Miser fluorescents conserving energy, as well.





By group relamping 835,000 sq. ft. of office area with 40,000 F40 Watt-Miser fluorescents, Blue Cross Headquarters in Detroit anticipate they will reduce their annual electricity costs by \$22,000. With escalating energy costs, these savings could easily exceed \$88,000 over the Blue Cross 48-month relamping cycle.



F&R Lazarus & Co., in Columbus, Ohio, in their Northland Branch expansion and modernization program, now in progress, will use 1212 4-lamp fixtures. At Lazarus' 2.7¢ energy rate, GE Watt-Miser will contribute an estimated annual cost reduction of almost \$3,015 in electricity used for lighting.

here was group-relamped with ...they're paying off fast and

Try them and you'll see.
F40 Watt-Misers use up to 14% less electricity than standard 40-watt fluorescents (with only a modest reduction in light). By group relamping now with GE Watt-Misers, you immediately gain maximum power savings. Savings up to \$4.20 per lamp over its rated life are not unusual.*

Later, you'll find your lighting expenses will be easier to control with a scheduled GE Watt-Miser group relamping program.
As for lighting levels, they may actually go up after a complete changeover from aging standard lamps to Watt-Misers, if you have been spot relamping. Group relamping itself has always been a time- and labor-saving device, and combining it with Watt-Misers makes it a better than ever bargain.

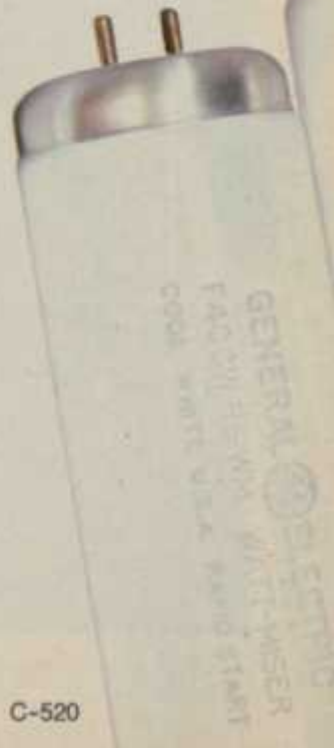
Ask us for more information contained in our bulletin, "Group Relamp Now", No. 210-5296. Write General Electric, Dept. C-520, Nela Park, Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Or, better yet, call your nearest GE Sales District Office . . . and get in with a good group.

*Based on national average of 3¢/kwh, 20,000-hour rated life.

LAMP BUSINESS DIVISION

GENERAL  ELECTRIC

C-520



A matter of death and life

I was startled to find my name mentioned prominently in "Common Mistakes That Can Erode Your Estate" [March]. As to the statement that Dick Byron had "the common problem of liquidity after death," I must say, alas, that my real problem is cash flow during life.

While the fictitious Byron's estate ran into trouble because his executor became ill, my estate plan is in relatively good shape. Most modern will forms provide for successor executors and even corporate executors.

I have under advisement your suggestion for assuring my family a source of income immediately after my death, although I am somewhat startled to be advised to invest in U. S. savings bonds. I assume the member institutions of the American Banking Association are not investing customers' assets in same.

R. J. (DICK) BYRON
Attorney at Law
Wausau, Wis.

The article is nothing but an unabashed tout directed solely to the interests of bank trust departments.

In slightly more than two pages, the author four times recommends consultation with a bank on estate planning.

ROXIE WEBB, JR.
Roxie Webb, Inc.
Registered Investment Advisor
and Portfolio Manager
Prescott, Ariz.

An even bigger jolt?

Re "A Proposed Tax Change That Could Jolt You" ["Executive Trends," March].

The jolt may be even worse than your report indicates. As I understand it, the \$12,000 limitation on nonbusiness interest deductions on federal income taxes applies not only to the various types of loans you listed but also to all excess investment interest.

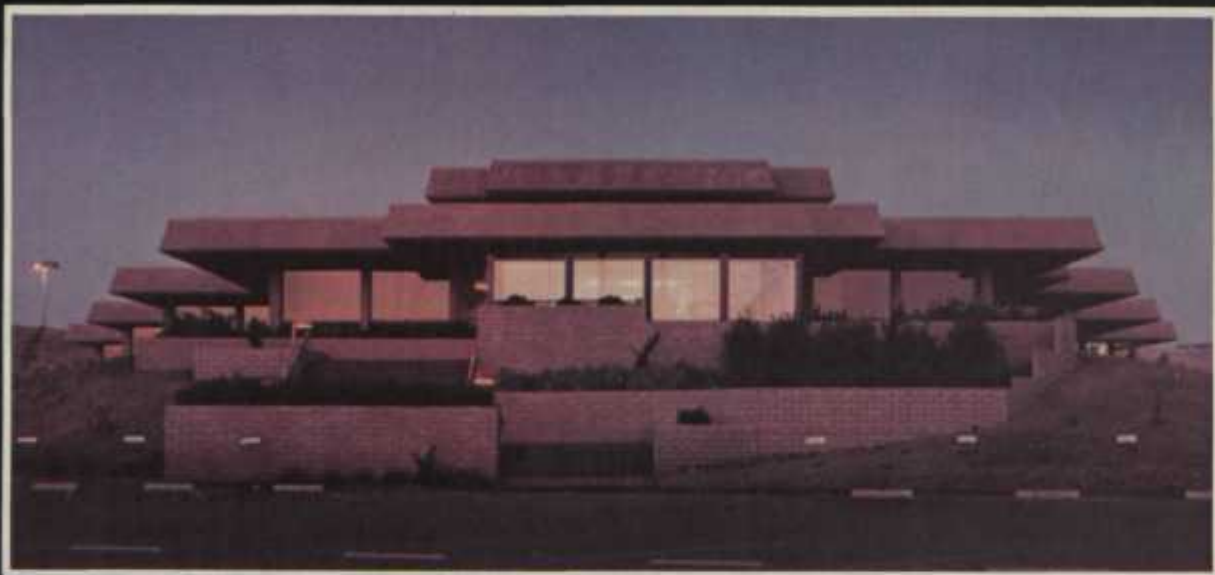
An example would be the excess of investment interest over related investment income in the same tax period. The Internal Revenue Service

and the Tax Court have frequently held that borrowings for pure investment purposes, such as stock margin accounts, mortgages on properties not leased to third persons, and passive land investments are not in the course of the taxpayer's trade or business.

The interest on such loans is thus considered nonbusiness interest, at least to the extent that it exceeds related income. It would appear that the \$12,000 limitation on nonbusiness interest deductions would apply to the total of interest paid on loans for such things as homes, autos, appliances, and boats, plus excess investment interest.

It seems to me that such a limitation would have a profound effect not only on the personal-type loans you enumerated, but also on all borrowings for investment purposes, particularly stock margin accounts.

ALBERT A. WALSH
President
National Realty Committee, Inc.
New York, N. Y.



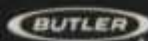
"That's a Butler building?"

Yes, that is a Butler building. In fact, you probably see beautiful Butler buildings all the time and don't know it. Because Butler buildings offer total design flexibility and

can be as tasteful and dramatic as any building.

Yet, they also give you all the important time and money savings of systems construction. To learn more about beautiful, time and money saving

Butler buildings and the local, independent contractor who can build one for you, write Butler Mfg. Co., BMA Tower, Dept. B-116, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.



ENR71



The F-Series shown above is the most popular medium/heavy truck built. Buyers like its roominess and its working space under the hood. (Paint design in photo is the customer's own.)



Ford C-Series are America's No. 1 tilts. They outsell all others by almost 2 to 1.

Ford: Top truck for 7 straight years!

Ford Medium/Heavy trucks outsell all competition. One reason is because only Ford offers a choice of long, short or tilt-cab styles to meet any job requirements.



LN-Series feature an all-welded reinforced steel cab for durability. A tilting hood for service ease.

FORD

FORD DIVISION





A Successful Formula for Company Growth

Under J. Paul Austin, The Coca-Cola Co. has enjoyed huge increases in sales and profits. In this interview, he describes management methods that have made those increases possible

J. PAUL AUSTIN is a man who wastes little time.

That's obvious when you speak to him. His answers are to the point and short.

It is also obvious when you consider his career. This lean, sandy-haired, six-foot-three-incher joined The Coca-Cola Co. in 1949 as an attorney. In 1962, at age 47, he became president. He became chief executive officer in 1966 and chairman in 1970.

Few top executives among America's largest companies have gone up so fast. And few companies can match the pace of The Coca-Cola Co.'s increases in business under Mr. Austin. In 1962, when he became president, sales were \$567 million, net income was \$47 million, and earnings per share—adjusted for subsequent stock splits—were 85 cents. In 1975, sales were just under \$2.9 billion, with profits at \$239 million, or \$4 per share.

Paul Austin—he seldom uses his first name, John—is now 61 but looks at least ten years younger. He works hard but gets needed relaxation from his duties in a tremendously competitive industry by playing hard. He's

a good golfer and gets in a game or two weekly, even when he's making his 12 to 20 foreign trips a year.

Mr. Austin was born in La Grange, Ga., and moved north with his family when he was a boy. He attended Culver Military Academy in Culver, Ind., and took undergraduate and law degrees at Harvard before joining a New York law firm. During World War II, he was a Navy lieutenant commander and served with a torpedo boat squadron in the Pacific.

After the war, Mr. Austin practiced corporate law in New York until he joined The Coca-Cola Co.'s legal department with assignments in New York and Chicago. In 1950, he was shifted to The Coca-Cola Export Corp., and he held a series of increasingly important assignments with it, including a four-year stint in South Africa as director of African area operations. He became president of the then New York-headquartered export company in 1959. And in 1961, he became executive vice president of the Atlanta-based parent company.

He was the first executive vice president in the history of The Coca-

Cola Co., which was incorporated in 1892, never to have worked in Atlanta.

Mr. Austin gave up the title of president of The Coca-Cola Co. in 1971, but he has plenty of other titles in addition to chief executive officer and chairman. He is a director of a number of companies, a trustee of organizations ranging from The Nutrition Foundation to the California Institute of Technology, and a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

He and his wife, the former Jeanne Weed of Jackson, Mich., have two sons—John Paul, Jr., who is married and has two children, and Samuel, a student at the University of Texas.

Here, in an interview with a NATION'S BUSINESS editor conducted in a Coca-Cola Co. jet flying from Atlanta to New York, Mr. Austin gives some of the do's and don'ts of running a global company.

The Coca-Cola Co. is one of the world's greatest franchisers. You're dependent on bottling companies that are franchisees. How do you keep them working hard?

By giving them the opportunity to

build good businesses. Being in business for yourself is one of the biggest motivators there is.

When a franchise system is in the hands of competent, motivated individuals, it is the greatest distribution system there is.

What can the company do when a competitor is gaining in a territory assigned to an uncompetitive franchisee?

In cases like that, we send in so-

that the consumer benefits from our current system.

How has The Coca-Cola Co. maintained such good public relations for so long?

I'll give you a definition of good public relations:

Getting caught in the act of doing something good.

Obviously, we've had good public relations people who are helpful in shaping our ideas and advising us

al pride. Because they are motivated, I don't have to go around giving pep talks. If I did, I don't think anything would happen.

The Coca-Cola Co. has always had esprit de corps.

I think I can claim that we have more than kept up with the pack in marketing.

We go strong for training and re-training of all personnel. To improve our training programs, we bought the Sterling Institute in Washington, D.C., several years ago. Sterling has the best technology and electronics equipment for teaching all sorts of employees to do all sorts of jobs. We set out to find the best company and to buy it, and we did.

How about technical innovation?

The Coca-Cola Co. is far advanced in computer efficiency, and that's something a lot of companies can't honestly say. We intend to stay ahead.

We have too many innovations in equipment and process design to list. They go back to the 19th century.

Of course, it is well-known that several designers have said the shape of the bottle for Coke is just about perfect.

The company came up with the world's first six-pack. We have some of the original cartons in our company museum, and they aren't so different from six-pack cartons used today. This means they must have been pretty good to begin with.

Years ago, we sold Coke syrup in wooden barrels. Some bottlers got the idea of cutting the barrels in half, filling them with ice, and selling cooled Coca-Cola. That was the first machine for Coke, you might say. That ended when we went into metal barrels.

More recently, we have come up with the technology for getting protein from various sources. We use the protein in a new nutritive beverage we call Samson. We've test-marketed Samson abroad, and it is a handsome success.

We expect to sell Samson in many countries where the people may not have quite the right diet. They may need more protein, and Samson definitely will supplement their diets in this respect. We also expect to sell

"We select our marketing people with special care. We want motivated people, people with professional pride. . . . I don't have to go around giving pep talks."

called combat teams of a half-dozen topflight fixer-uppers. The team helps the franchisee get reoriented. Once franchisees are shown how to operate efficiently, nine out of ten of them do.

Here in the United States, a contract between The Coca-Cola Co. and a franchisee has a provision—with good reason—whereby the contract can be eliminated. On the other hand, if a franchisee operates well, the franchise is in perpetuity. It is handed down through the generations.

Our franchisees abroad have a co-operative marketing program which spells out clearly what resources we and the bottlers assign to reach mutually agreed upon goals.

What is the status of the Federal Trade Commission proceeding to restrict franchisers from awarding exclusive territories?

Hearings were completed last summer, and the FTC administrative law judge held that our franchise system is legal and also pro-competitive. Attorneys for the commission have filed an appeal, and oral arguments were presented March 10. We are confident that the commission will agree with the administrative law judge

in advance of certain things to avoid doing. Also, we have a rule: Don't tell lies.

What are some of the other rules the company abides by?

Our basic policy is to be a good citizen wherever we are.

Being a good citizen in, for example, Kansas City, involves many things. Showing an interest in the community. Working on hospital drives. Joining the chamber of commerce and other good organizations. Running a good business. On and on, the list can go.

We are impeccably accurate in paying our taxes—all kinds of taxes—at home and abroad. We staff our operations in the U. S. and abroad with people of high moral standards. Our people are gentlemen and ladies, and we don't have to write down the things for them to do. They already know.

At the same time, they are tough operators.

The Coca-Cola Co. has a good record of innovation in marketing and management. Why?

We select our marketing people with special care. We want motivated people, people with profession-

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Samson in certain areas in the United States.

One of the best sources of protein, by the way, is whey. In processing milk into cheese, what's left is whey. If the whey were dumped in streams and rivers, it would pollute them. Through our Aqua-Chem subsidiary, we purify the whey, making use of the protein it contains. This process turns a potential pollutant into a protein source to be incorporated in product formulations.

Your company owes only about \$10 million in long-term debt. How can a \$3 billion-a-year company get by on such tiny debt?

The large portion of our bottlers are self-financed. They own their own businesses, so The Coca-Cola Co. never has to put out enormous amounts of money.

This is the nature of the franchise system, although I must admit some other franchisers owe huge sums.

You have \$300 million or \$400 million in cash reserves. Why don't you diversify more at a time when good bargains are lying around?

We like to keep money around. With us, money never went out of style.

However, The Coca-Cola Co. has done some big league diversifying, hasn't it? What has been acquired?

We are pleased with all of our lines. I'll just quickly list them: Minute Maid frozen concentrate citrus juices; Hi-C fruit drinks; Duncan Foods, with several fine lines including coffees and teas; and Aqua-Chem, a water conditioning firm. And, of course, we have Tab, Fresca, Sprite, and several other soft drinks, which come in many different sizes and types of containers.

You are directly producing in 138 countries, which is the world's record for a company. How do you keep track of so much in so many places?

We have divided the company into eight profit centers: soft drink operations in the U. S.; Canada; Latin America; Europe; Africa; the Far East; our citrus, fruit drink, coffee, and tea operations in the Foods Division; and Aqua-Chem.

Annual budgets are a key element of control. Every year, each profit center prepares a budget and sends it to our Atlanta headquarters for study and consolidation. We cut and fit each, then take them to the board of directors for approval.

By controlling budgets and money, we maintain control over this far-flung company. We are in almost as many countries as there are in the United Nations.

As an old-line multinational, what are you doing now that you weren't doing ten or 20 years ago?

Basically, we are doing about the same things we were doing 20 years ago. The business has not changed all that much. It was sound then. It's sound now. It requires little tinkering.

Long ago, we adopted a policy of using local citizens, instead of Americans, in as many instances as possible abroad. Now, less than one half of one percent of our offshore employees are Americans.

How do you keep Coca-Cola the same, whether it is bottled in Uganda or in the company's hometown, Atlanta?

We have the technology to, as we call it, bring any kind of water down to neutral. In other words, water treated in this fashion has no effect on the unique taste of Coke syrup used in bottling Coca-Cola. Purity of water is absolute.

What would you do if you learned that a big operation like Marriott or McDonald's planned to sell another cola drink and stop selling Coke?

What we try to do is mend our fences in advance. We maintain the best possible customer relations. We have trained people who are ready to help our customers in their business. We don't just sell them syrup and walk out of the shop. We make real contributions to our customers' companies.

The soft drink business is a hot one competitively. Hasn't Pepsi gotten

"When a franchise system is in the hands of competent, motivated individuals, it is the greatest distribution system there is."



ahead of Coke in sales in food stores?

In supermarkets, they have grown closer to our level. But, when you throw in all the other food stores, that statement won't stand up. Coca-Cola is ahead.

Increasing the percentage of business a company does in a more mature market like the United States is difficult. I don't mean there is no growth. I mean growth is particularly hard to come by. We've been in business for a long time and we're still growing.

We recently established some working relationships with the Soviet Union. A group of our technicians went over to discuss building a plant for the production of instant tea. The benefit to the Soviet Union would be to have the convenience of instant tea. You know, the Soviets drink a lot of tea.

Throwaway containers, which the company makes use of along with returnable bottles, have come in for a lot of criticism. Do you see any new developments in throwaway container technology?

We are in a program with a chemical company to market a plastic bottle that has all of the pluses of plastics but is one that can be recycled. What you do is pick up used bottles, reduce them to powder, and form the powder into a new bottle. We are in commercial production and marketing in Providence, R. I. And we are exceeding our budget sales substantially.

Ford Motor Co. and The Coca-Cola Co., to name two, have been embargoed in the Arab world for refusal to stop operations in Israel. Two questions: Why did you refuse? And do you think the embargo will soon be lifted?

We are the only soft drink embargoed. Our competitors gave in, and they are all over the Arab world.

But we never give in to boycotts. We have never refused a person a franchise, if that person is suitable. We saw what we wanted in a strong group of people which formed up in Israel and applied for a contract to bottle and sell Coke. So we gave them the contract.



"I'll give you a definition of good public relations: Getting caught in the act of doing something good."

The Arabs warned us ahead of time that they would boycott us, and they did, in most of the Arab countries.

Now for the second question. There is the distinct possibility that, if the Middle East simmers down, we will have an excellent opportunity to regain our market while continuing to do business in Israel. That could be fairly soon, if the troubles in Beirut settle down. Secretary of State Kissinger brought up the embargo in talks with governments of the Arab countries. He let them know the U. S. government is aware of the embargo and is not happy about it.

When an embargo is lifted, what does a company do first?

Well, even before it's lifted, you start acting. We already have a group with capital backing from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United States which is able to finance a return to the Arab market or part of it.

Besides those countries, other countries will be invited to come in with us.

The Arabs still remember us with interest and fondness.

You don't make many speeches. Why?

I did in years back. I haven't re-

cently, because I prefer to be my own speech writer. I get some professional help, but I spend many hours on a speech and I sort of run out of time.

If you weren't head man at The Coca-Cola Co., what would you like to be?

A professional golfer. Of course, I'm not the right age for it. Nor do I play that kind of game. But, you know, with enough time to play, I might improve a little bit.

I'm enthusiastic about sports. Golf is the main thing.

You were involved in professional golf planning at one time, weren't you?

Yes. Jack Nicklaus invited me to join a group to set guidelines for the present professional circuit. This was several years ago. There was considerable dispute in the world of golf, then, over several things. We set up a forum where both sides in all disputes could be heard, and where mediators could try to help everyone. It seems to have worked out very well.

You are involved with the Smithsonian Institution?

Yes, I'm a regent. And I enjoy it. The Smithsonian is of great benefit

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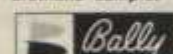
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to both our country and the world.

What books have you read recently?

I do an awful lot of business reading. And I read novels—a wide assortment of them. I read Russian novels and enjoy them. I have read every book Solzhenitsyn has written. I started with "The First Circle" and read right on through. He is a great storyteller. It's a case of a great character creating great characters.

What are the main ingredients you feel your successor should have when you retire?

I believe in the job shaping the man. There must, of course, be a reasonable amount of education, self-motivation, and integrity. He doesn't need to be a genius.

Say, I don't want to sound like I'm reciting the Boy Scout oath.

You know, when Napoleon once was asked how he selected his field marshals, he answered like this: "I take a roster of my marshals and I examine them. They are all competent. They are all great soldiers. So I look for the one who has luck and I appoint him field marshal."

Were you named for John Paul Jones?

No. There was a big dispute when I was born. My mother wanted me named for her father, whose name was Paul. My father wanted to get into the act for the same reason, so I got his father's name, John.

How did a Georgia boy like you get rid of his southern accent?

I was born in La Grange, and for the first ten years of my life I had the obvious accent of central Georgia. Then, my father's cotton business took the whole family to several places in the North. So I was in the North during the time an accent is usually established, which is during the teens.

I'll tell you one thing, though. When I joined the company, I thought mightily seriously about going to Berlitz School and learning a southern accent all over again. END

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Making It Easier to Hire the Handicapped

When it comes to ease of travel, Harold E. Krents has fewer problems flying around the country on business than riding in the kind of automatic elevator you find in most modern office buildings.

For Mr. Krents and thousands of blind people like him, the elevator is an obstacle, one of many they encounter in their daily lives. With rare exceptions, when they enter an elevator they don't know whether it's going up or down. And they can't pick their floors without help.

"All it takes is about \$3 to put braille numbers on every selection button in an average elevator," Mr. Krents says. "And it's a simple matter to install a two-tone bell system that tells you whether the elevator is going up or down."

Mr. Krents, an attorney associated with a Washington, D. C., law firm, is counsel to Mainstream, Inc., a non-profit organization dedicated to getting handicapped persons into jobs.

While thousands of firms willingly hire the handicapped, thousands do not. Among the latter, reluctance to hire is largely based on fear of extra expenses.

According to Mr. Krents, many companies are finding out that the costs of making a building free of architectural barriers for the handicapped or of changing job operations to accommodate handicapped workers are not that high.

When the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. decided to revamp its 27-story headquarters building in Oakland, Calif., to help disabled workers, it was concerned that the cost would be hundreds of thousands of dollars. Mainstream sent in architects who showed the work could be done for less than \$8,000.

Often, job accommodation requires nothing more than raising a desk on blocks or providing a braille typewriter.

Employers' concern that hiring the

handicapped may increase their liability insurance or that they will have to install special equipment to ensure the safety of disabled workers is groundless, according to Mr. Krents.

Since passage of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, any company that does more than \$2,500 in business annually with Uncle Sam is required to take affirmative action to hire the handicapped. The law also applies to institutions, including schools and hospitals, that accept federal funds.

Mainstream, located at 1200 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005, was established last year to help employers comply with the law. For example, it has architectural teams that will help an employer identify and do something about problems such as hard-to-enter doorways or toilet facilities inaccessible to those who must move about in wheelchairs. Or Mainstream will supply consultants to set up training programs for disabled workers.

"I know from experience that goodwill alone won't make the Rehabilitation Act work," says Mr. Krents, whose life story inspired "Butterflies Are Free," a successful play and movie.

"The business community is inter-

ested in hiring the handicapped, but many companies lack the nuts and bolts information necessary to comply with the law. Mainstream is helping them bridge the gap."

It is estimated that between 25 million and 40 million Americans have physical or mental disabilities which qualify them as handicapped.

Harold Krents knows what it means to be turned down for a job, although he graduated cum laude in English at Harvard College, later received his law degree at Harvard Law School, and attended Oxford University for a year.

"I was turned down by more than 40 law firms before I landed here," he says of his employer, the firm of Surrey, Karasik, and Morse. "And the only accommodation the company has made for me is to provide a full-time secretary. Otherwise, I pull my oar like every other lawyer in the firm."

He says many prejudices against hiring the disabled are gradually disappearing.

"People really want to do the right thing by the handicapped," he says. "Usually, it's a question of pointing them in the right direction." •

continued on next page



Mainstream's Harold Krents meets with Kaiser Aluminum employees to tell how plants and offices can be fixed up at little cost to accommodate handicapped workers.

How Bankers Help Save Communities

To a lot of small town bankers, their job involves far more than studying loan applications or trying to attract new depositors.

When a major food processor decided to shut down a 40-year-old cheese plant in Arthur, Ill., the State Bank of Arthur stepped in to try to rescue it. The bank contacted several midwestern universities and came up with the name of a Danish immigrant—Erland Kondrup, who had worked at Michigan State University and now was employed by a Toledo, Ohio, dairy.

"We invited Mr. Kondrup to come to Arthur and tell us how to save the cheese plant," recalls E. L. Jurgens, bank president. "Even though the plant was run-down and outdated, Mr. Kondrup saw possibilities. He decided to buy it and move here and run it."

State Bank made him a loan for repairs and arranged for a federal loan for a disposal system to meet environmental standards. That was five years ago.

Mr. Kondrup went into specialty cheeses as well as standard cheese

products. Arthur Cheese Co. is now a thriving enterprise. Sales this year are expected to top \$6 million.

"You can save a business that is threatened," says Mr. Jurgens. "All you have to do is work at it."

Twenty years ago, when the federal government launched the soil bank program, between 30 and 40 percent of the farmland around Brooton, Minn., was taken out of cultivation. About a third of the farmers left the area, which caused about a third of the businesses in Brooton to shut down.

John O. Bohmer, president of the State Bank of Brooton, was named chairman of a committee to see what could be done. A survey of the valley in which Brooton is located showed more underground water available than farmers had believed. Several wells were sunk, and a well-digging firm and an irrigation equipment manufacturer moved in.

After the soil bank program ended, thousands of acres of cropland were returned to cultivation. Fifteen thousand acres of this land are now irrigated. Where previously only corn was grown—it was always subject to destruction by drought—irrigation has paved the way for green beans, cucumbers, potatoes, soybeans, and

other truck crops. Some 35 new businesses have opened. The population has increased.

"We were down, but we were not out," says Mr. Bohmer. "We simply worked together and brought things around again."

In 1972, Norwood, Minn., lost its only doctor. Clinton D. Kurtz, vice president of Citizens State Bank, rallied his fellow citizens to action.

"We sought out universities for help, but we found the answer ten miles away in the town of Waconia," he remembers. "A medical partnership was breaking up, and we offered two of the doctors a new clinic if they would come to Norwood."

Negotiations with the doctors started on Dec. 1, 1972. A meeting of Norwood townspeople was convened to determine if they would support a citizens corporation to build a \$60,000 clinic. On the spot, \$16,000 was pledged. Within a few days, the corporation was formed and all of the stock was purchased. The two doctors moved into their new clinic on Feb. 15, 1973.

Richland, Mo., was headed toward oblivion in the late 1950's. Young people were moving out, the railroad cut service drastically, and livestock production was falling off. Then, the major employer, a shoe plant, shut down, wiping out 250 jobs.

Gordon W. Warren, president of the local Pulaski County Bank, was mayor at the time. Working with his alma mater, the University of Missouri, he helped establish a planning commission and an industrial development corporation to attract new industries.

A clothing manufacturer took over the shoe plant. Other new industries include a maker of fiberglass boats, a game room furniture manufacturer, and a plant turning out treated utility posts. The town boasts a community swimming pool, a nine-hole golf course, an airstrip for light planes, and a regional library—all new.

"A community, like an individual, can drift along, or it can take direction," says Mr. Warren. "We decided to take direction. Several directions, in fact. The result is a rejuvenation of our town." •



Banker Clinton Kurtz and Dr. Cecil Provence in the new Norwood, Minn., clinic.



A nighttime photograph of the Memphis skyline. In the foreground, a multi-lane highway curves through a dark, wooded area, illuminated by a series of streetlights that create a long, glowing light trail. The city skyline is visible in the background, with several prominent skyscrapers lit up against the dark night sky. The overall scene is a blend of natural darkness and artificial city lights.

A BICENTENNIAL SALUTE
TO AMERICAN CITIES:

MEMPHIS



Cotton, which spurred the original growth of Memphis, is still an important part of the city's economy. This trader on the busy Memphis Cotton Exchange is checking a sample before making a bid. An annual Cotton Carnival pays tribute to the crop.

PHOTOS: YOSHI OZAWA

This model depicts Memphis's goals in renovating its downtown area from the Mississippi River back (those terraced structures are waterfront apartments). Leaders in the renovation include (from left) Edward C. Boldt, chief executive officer of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce; Wayne W. Pyeatt, 1976 chamber president; and Samuel B. Hollis, 1977 president-elect of the chamber.



MEMPHIS: City of Optimism

AS FOUNDER and chairman of a major international company, Holiday Inns, Inc., Kemmons Wilson has seen most of the important business, political, and resort centers of the world.

Ask him, however, if he has ever considered moving his corporate headquarters and his home from Memphis, Tenn. He replies quickly: "Oh, no, of course not."

His hometown, he says, "is just a great place to live and do business."

That type of loyalty is common to both native and newly arrived Memphians.

It does not blind them to a realistic recognition that their city still faces challenges. But Memphis leaders share a strong sense of optimism.

A bright future

"I just couldn't be more optimistic about the future of this area," says John C. Harris. Mr. Harris recently arrived in Memphis to manage a big, new Caterpillar Tractor Co. parts distribution center.

"We have the tools," says Edward W. Cook, chairman and chief executive officer of Cook Industries, Inc., one of the largest grain and cotton marketing companies in the world. "Memphis is on the brink of a surge in economic activity."

Their comments are typical of what business leaders in Memphis say about the city's future.

At the same time, Memphis business leaders acknowledge that the city missed out on much of the economic boom that brought spectacular growth to many other cities during the 1960's. But now, these leaders believe, it is Memphis's turn. City leaders say their community is better prepared to deal with growth, because it has learned from the experiences, both good and bad, of other cities.

Memphis now sees itself as "the

capital of the Mid-South." By the city's definition, this is an economic region extending into Missouri and Kentucky on the north, Mississippi on the south, Arkansas on the west, and central Tennessee on the east.

The city has a modern, heavily used airport, access to an extensive rail and highway network, and an excellent location on the Mississippi River. These assets give the city strategic ties to the industrial Northeast, the Midwest, and the tier of states in the South and Southwest. Those states make up the fastest growing area in the country.

Memphis's location has always been a key factor in its history.

Chickasaw Indians had a village on one of several high bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River in what is now the Memphis area. Early explorers stopped there. Robert La Salle is believed to have built a fort on the site of present-day Memphis.

The city's origin

The modern history of Memphis can be traced to the meeting of two young lawyers of sharply contrasting personalities in Nashville around 1790.

One was John Overton, highly educated, urbane, a shrewd planner, and a man of strong self-discipline. The other was Andrew Jackson, a hot-tempered man, a man of action who believed in head-on confrontation with those who stood in the way.

Despite their differences, John Overton and Andrew Jackson formed a business and personal association that lasted 40 years. Those years saw lawyer Overton become the richest man in Tennessee. His partner became the hero of the Battle of New Orleans and later President of the United States.

In 1794, Mr. Overton purchased 5,000 acres in western Tennessee, including bluffs overlooking the Mis-

issippi, for \$500. He sold a half interest to Jackson for \$100.

Their plans for developing a town there were thwarted, however, until 1818.

In that year, the original owners, the Chickasaw Indians, surrendered claim to the land. Then, plans for the new community proceeded apace.

Choosing a name

Three names were suggested for the town:

- Jackson, in honor of the hero of New Orleans.
- Chickasaw, to preserve the name of the original owners.
- Memphis, Greek for "place of good abode," after ancient Memphis, once capital of Egypt.

Tradition has it that the final decision was left to Gen. Jackson. He chose the name of the fabled city on the Nile.

The area was settled rapidly as the nation expanded westward. As land was cleared for farms and plantations, a thriving lumber industry developed. Cotton soon became a major crop.

Memphis was incorporated as a town in 1826. Population: 500.

In 1840, the town became a city. By then, its population was 1,800.

Memphis's commanding position on the Mississippi made it an important port for the fast-growing steamboat traffic. Between 1850 and 1860, Memphis was the fastest growing American city, going from 6,427 people to 33,000.

Disaster and recovery

But the Civil War and three yellow fever epidemics nearly destroyed the city economically.

More than 30,000 people fled from the last epidemic in 1878. In 1879, the city went bankrupt and surrendered its charter to the state. But Memphians returned and went to



"Memphis is a super place to live," says Edward W. Cook, chairman and chief executive officer of Cook Industries, Inc., one of the leading companies in the area's basic industry, agribusiness.

"We're at the very center of the United States," says Holiday Inns Chairman Kemmons Wilson in listing the assets of his corporation's headquarters city. Other major companies based in Memphis include Federal Express Corp.; United Foods, Inc.; Cook Industries, Inc.; Dobbs Houses, Inc.; Guardsmark, Inc.; E. H. Crump Companies, Inc.; Parts, Inc.; Welcome Wagon International, Inc.; Maybelline Co.; and Plough, Inc.



work rebuilding. The charter was restored.

In the early 1890's, railroad and vehicular bridges across the Mississippi led to a sharp increase in trade. Memphis again became a leading cotton and lumber center. Then, the early 1900's saw the start of the city's industrial growth. This process would shift the city's economy away from almost total reliance on the area's plantations, farms, and timber industry.

The city's growth has continued unchecked. The greater Memphis trade area now has a population of 854,000. The city's population is 659,000.

Memphis has not grown at a spectacular pace, but that is not necessarily a bad thing, say business leaders there.

Learning from others' errors

James E. McGehee, president of James E. McGehee & Co., Inc., mortgage bankers, says: "While Memphis has not had the explosive growth of some other cities, those cities are having some serious problems. We

think we are better off with a more orderly growth, putting industry where industry should be, avoiding the helter-skelter growth of shopping centers, and not overbuilding on apartments and condominiums as some places have done."

Mr. McGehee heads the Downtown Council, an arm of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce. The council's goal, he explains, "is trying to change the character of, and the quality of life within, the downtown area."

Memphis's business district began on the riverfront, and the two are tied as closely together in the downtown redevelopment project as they have been throughout the city's history.

Reviving the riverfront

Plans include revitalization of the riverfront, much of it now unused except for parking. Building sites with spectacular views of the Mississippi are occupied by long-unused cotton warehouses.

"Every other riverfront city has already done its thing to take advantage of its location," says Mr. Mc-

Gehee. "We've done virtually nothing."

Work is well along on the ten-block Mid-America Mall, billed as the longest pedestrian shopping mall in the country. This will convert a main traffic artery into a vehicle-free pedestrian walk.

The basic concept of the project is to link together three vital parts of the downtown area:

- The existing downtown retail-financial business district.
- The civic center, which includes city, county, state, and federal office buildings, plus one of the nation's largest convention centers.
- A proposed recreational, residential, and tourist complex centered on the river.

Home of the "blues"

Restoration of famed Beale Street, home of the "blues," is an important part of the revitalization plan. So is Volunteer Park, a tourist attraction being developed on a narrow island off the downtown section. The park's features will include a replica of the Mississippi from its junction with the Ohio River, at Cairo, Ill., to the Gulf of Mexico.

A major goal which business leaders hope to realize next year is a National Football League franchise. While the football team would not play downtown, its existence would draw more conventioners and other visitors to the downtown area.

The Beale Street and Volunteer Park projects also are counted on to play a significant part in keeping the downtown alive and growing and to help the city expand its role as a tourist and convention center.

Attractions galore

For a city its size, Memphis offers a wide range of other attractions. A sampling includes:

- Public parks, 190 of them, covering 6,200 acres.
- An annual appearance by the Metropolitan Opera Company, one of the few appearances the famed company makes outside New York City.
- Graceland, the home of Elvis Presley, where tourists peer through a chain link fence decorated with musical notes and replicas of guitars.
- Brooks Memorial Art Gallery,

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which contains a large part of the collection of the late S. H. Kress, who started in Memphis the chain of stores that bears his name.

- The Liberty Bowl, one of the major postseason collegiate football events.

- The Mid-South Fair, a 119-year-old event, held every autumn.

- Libertyland, a newly opened theme amusement park.

- W. C. Handy Park, with its statue of the famous jazz cornetist who wrote "St. Louis Blues" and "Memphis Blues."

- The Memphis Pink Palace Museum, which has one of the world's finest collections of trophies of African wildlife.

- The famed river bluffs themselves, overlooking the Mississippi as it makes a broad sweep on its way to the Gulf.

Industrial parks

While its geographic location and transportation services have made Memphis a major distribution center, it also remains the heart of an important industrial region.

Industrial parks, such as Presidents Island in the Mississippi, are scattered throughout the area.

Business leaders pay high tribute to the quality of the workers found locally.

"Memphis has a very solid work force," says Caterpillar Tractor's John Harris. "I'm very much impressed with the work ethic here. It's a great dividend."

Mr. Harris's job is to oversee a 1.2 million-square-foot warehouse and shipping complex. Eventually, it will handle 170,000 individual items, ranging from a cotter pin that costs a few cents to a power-shovel bucket that costs \$12,000.

A major medical center

When Memphis lists its assets, its medical center and institutions of higher education always rank high.

The medical center is made up of renowned medical training and care facilities.

Among them are the University of Tennessee Center for the Health Sciences, where physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacologists, rehabilitation specialists, and others in the



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Capt. Jake Meanley makes his living on the Mississippi, as Memphians have done for generations. He is vice president and fleet captain of the Memphis Queen Line, an excursion boat company which was founded by his father.



Memphis State University President Billy M. Jones reports an upsurge of student interest in business training courses. "That's where the jobs are," he notes. The university provides management training, research, and other services to area businesses.

medical field are trained. The center also includes public and private hospitals, among them Baptist Memorial Hospital, the world's largest private hospital. Baptist has 1,850 of the more than 7,000 hospital beds within the center.

Memphis area hospitals outside the medical center include St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, which was founded by entertainer Danny Thomas. He sponsors an annual golf tournament that draws top players to Memphis to help raise funds for the hospital.

Educational opportunities

Institutions of higher learning include Memphis State University and LeMoyne-Owen College.

Dr. Billy M. Jones, a football coach turned college administrator, is president of MSU. Under his direction, the school has launched a program to raise \$2 million to strengthen university academic programs.

"Foremost among these efforts," he says, "will be support of the College of Business Administration and the free enterprise system that placed America in a world leadership position."

MSU maintains close ties with the business community through such programs as the Entrepreneurial Fellows; business leaders who meet with students for informal conversations about their own experiences and business issues.

More than 80 percent of MSU's graduates enter the work force in the Memphis area.

LeMoyne-Owen, with an all-black student body, has launched an imaginative Cooperative Education Pro-

gram that provides a mix of academic study and on-the-job training.

"The combination of academic training and the practical experience produces a fully trained individual with an advanced degree," says Dr. Walter L. Walker, president of LeMoyne. "Ninety percent of the graduate cooperative students remain with their current employers."

The President's Roundtable, a group of local businessmen, has been of major help in implementing the Cooperative Education Program and in raising funds for it, Dr. Walker says.

Memphis's goals

Sidney A. Stewart, Jr., chairman of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce and president of E. H. Crump Companies, Inc., says Memphis's goals are more industrial and commercial expansion and a growing role as a tourist and vacation center. There's no doubt in his mind, he says, that the city has the basic ingredients to achieve these goals.

"We're in the right location at the right time," he explains.

"We've got a moderate climate, an excellent energy and water supply, people with a strong work ethic, top schools, cultural facilities, and one of the world's finest medical centers. I can't think of any place where there is more opportunity."

Says Wayne W. Pyeatt, chairman and chief executive officer of the National Bank of Commerce:

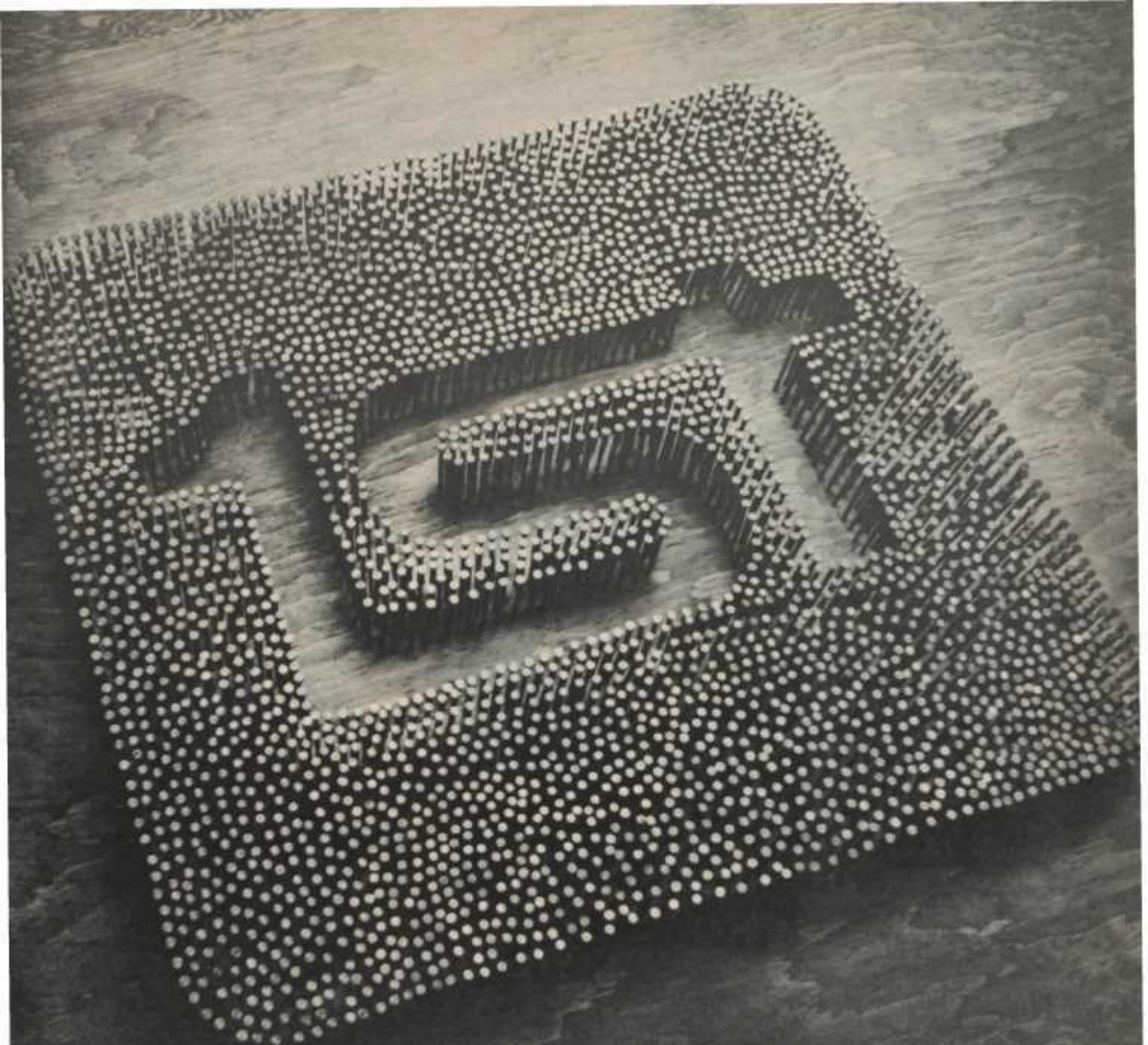
"We're really beginning to move ahead. We're a transportation hub with access to the richest farmland in the United States, a long growing season, and an expanding industrial base generally tied to agribusiness, but including some other sectors for diversity. That's an excellent combination."

Allen B. Morgan, Jr., a native son who was just 27 when he and a partner founded the city's first home-owned brokerage firm in 1969, voices a typical view.

"I have a lot of hope for this city," he says.

Young comers

Opportunities are open to young people in many areas of Memphis business life. Stockbroker Morgan's



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success is one example. There are others:

- Ben H. Woodson, 31, is president of Overton Square, Inc., one of Memphis's most colorful shopping districts. It includes more than 40 specialty stores and restaurants, plus a legitimate theater.

Overton Square was founded in 1969 by a group of young entrepre-

neurs, including President Woodson. The ultimate plan, he says, calls for "a complete micro-community, including apartment and office buildings, where people can work, live, shop, and play."

- Mrs. Kay Dance, 33, started a tennis store five years ago with a \$2,000 inventory and 400 square feet of retail space. Her company, Forty

Love Tennis Shoppe, Inc., now has seven stores in five states.

While understandably proud of Memphis's assets, business leaders are realistic enough to concede the city has not been without its problems.

One fault they hope is fast being corrected is a lack of aggressiveness.

"We haven't tooted our own horn as much as we should have," says Mr. Pyeatt, of the National Bank of Commerce, who is president of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce.

A more fundamental problem has been a perennial shortage of capital. "Memphis is not the wealthiest city around," Mr. Pyeatt says. "Most of our wealth has come from farming, and that kind of capital takes a long time to build."

A constitutional headache

Access to capital is seriously aggravated, financial leaders say, by a so-called usury provision of the state constitution which limits interest rates to a maximum of ten percent.

For example, Mr. Pyeatt notes, the major insurance companies placed their loans elsewhere last year, when interest rates went beyond the ten percent ceiling. These companies are an important source of mortgage money for the Memphis area.

"The most serious problem facing this area—and the entire state—is Tennessee's archaic usury law," says mortgage banker McGehee.

Noting how the supply of job-producing capital dwindled as competitive interest rates went beyond the legal ceiling, Mr. McGehee says: "The market will educate everybody if they will only listen."

Efforts are under way to amend the state constitution to allow lenders to charge competitive interest rates to large borrowers while retaining interest ceilings on small loans.

Ronald A. Terry, chairman of First Tennessee National Corp., points to another area of business concern.

Mr. Terry says candidly that he and his fellow businessmen have for too long "left it to the other guy to run for an elected office or head a political committee."

Thus, he continues, "the public sector, whether national, state, or lo-



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cal government, has seldom proven to be an effective long-range planner or priority setter. Administrations are necessarily short-term goal oriented, since they must be responsible to the short-term needs perceived by the public.

"Elected officials have not, cannot, and will not produce effective long-range plans for Memphis. A coalition of government and business must do this."

Businessmen, Mr. Terry believes, "must learn the art of politics and be active participants in the political process."

He notes that Memphis businessmen are becoming more active in politics through two newly formed organizations, Forum and VOTE, the latter an acronym for Volunteers Open to Everyone.

Memphis Mayor Wyeth Chandler says his community has a split personality—trying to hang on to old, comfortable ways of life but recognizing the need for economic progress.

Influx of newcomers

"We have a combination of a basically rural, conservative type of people," he says, "and enough of an influx of newcomers so that the newcomers are heard. They say we have to change, if we want to keep up with the rest of the country."

Memphis has grown in area as well as in population. A state annexation law gives cities broad powers to take in surrounding communities that are not incorporated.

As a result, Memphis has nearly 90 percent of the population and nearly 40 percent of the land area of Shelby County, in which the city is located.

City and county have separate governments. However, both Mayor Chandler and Roy C. Nixon, chief executive of Shelby County, foresee the day when the two governments will be consolidated.

Some movement in that direction has taken place already. City and county have established joint agencies for health, juvenile courts, planning, narcotics law enforcement, and other activities.

The racial mix in the city's population has stabilized at 60 percent

Mrs. Patricia Walker Shaw, an insurance executive, also is on the board of a city agency that distributes gas, power, and water. She says race relations in Memphis have improved tremendously since her childhood days.



Dr. John J. Shea, Jr., is one of the reasons why Memphis is world famous as a medical center. He developed an operation, performed under a microscope, to replace defective ear bones that cause deafness.



white and 40 percent black. Annexation is generally believed to be the reason for that stabilization.

Some of the most troubled American cities are those where white residents have fled to suburbs, leaving behind a core city populated heavily by poorer blacks. Memphis has escaped that fate.

Improving racial climate

Nevertheless, race relations remain a sensitive topic in this city where the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed in 1968.

Mrs. Patricia Walker Shaw, a vice president and associate controller of Universal Life Insurance Co. is a member of one of Memphis's leading black families. The company was founded by her grandfather and now operates in 11 states and the District of Columbia.

Mrs. Shaw expresses concern for the future of the public school system. Although there is a white ma-

jority in the population as a whole, 70 percent of the school system's pupils are black. White enrollment in private schools swelled as busing was implemented to achieve racial balance in public schools.

While busing decrees did not spark the turmoil found in Boston and Louisville, Mrs. Shaw says, "there was some white flight."

Nevertheless, she says, the racial climate in Memphis has improved vastly since her childhood. Blacks, she says, have made great progress.

Memphis residents, black and white, hope for still better relations. They look forward to seeing all citizens working side by side to achieve the community's major goals—redevelopment of the downtown and the riverfront area, more businesses, and expanded educational, recreational, and cultural opportunities.

They want, in short, to keep their community the "place of good abode" that its founders envisioned. END

THE JOB AHEAD:

Enriching the Quality of Life in America

BY IRVING S. SHAPIRO

AT THE BEGINNING of the second American century, 100 years ago, no one could have foreseen the gigantic achievements in human and economic progress that lay ahead.

Two inventions alone in that period—the telephone and the electric light—made all existing game plans obsolete.

The same thing, of course, holds true today; no one can look ahead with absolute certainty.

It takes boldness even to attempt to peer into our next American century, considering all of the technological, political, and human factors which are bound to affect the future.

But there are clues.

The new economic realities of our times are going to require us to bring a new concentration to more basic needs and more basic goals. Therefore, I see us as paying more attention to the substance, rather than the size and wealth of our society.

We've mastered change

In the past century, we built America into history's richest society in material goods.

In the next century, we will build America into history's richest society in quality of life.

That's the job ahead, as I see it. The mastery of change has been a common thread of our national experience. Time after time, our country, our institutions, and our people have faced up to the fact of fundamental change—with all the uncertainties and fears which such change stirs—and have managed to accommodate to that change, discern new opportunities, and achieve new aims.

We doubtless have many times surprised ourselves by the scope of our national reaction to challenge and change. Who, during the depression of the 1930's—or even in the years immediately following World War II—projected the economic expansions of the 1950's and the 1960's? Who, in the depths of the Cold War, forecast the era of détente and the growing interchanges of people and goods between the United States and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China? Who foresaw our dominating man-on-the-moon recovery from the Sputnik shock that propelled us into the space age?

One hard fact calling for more selection in what we attempt as we prepare to enter the third American

century is that many of our institutions, public and private, are obviously committed beyond their resources and extended beyond their true functions.

Blowing in the wind are the widely publicized fiscal problems of New York City and other municipalities; the problems of private enterprises such as the Penn Central, REA Express, Lockheed, W. T. Grant, and the former Franklin National Bank; and a federal government that now consistently runs deficits that are 11 digits wide, in good years as well as in bad.

New realities converging

In addition, three new economic realities apparently are converging to shape a significantly different future:

- Slower population growth probably will bring about a slower growth rate in our gross national product. Instead of the four percent annual gain which we have been used to, a national growth rate of 2½ to three percent is forecast.
- Cheap oil has disappeared forever, and natural gas shortages are already upon us.
- And, it seems as if higher-than-



Mr. Shapiro, chairman and chief executive officer of the Du Pont Co., notes that ours is "history's richest society in material goods," and he adds: "In the next century, we will build America into history's richest society in quality of life." He cites four target areas for business.

1. "We employers must intensify our sensitivity to the aspirations of employees, whose attitudes can help or hamper our economic evolution. . . . Our business institutions are going to have to offer a diversity of new incentives, standards, and rewards."

historic rates of inflation have become institutionalized all over the world.

Our people are beginning to recognize these new economic factors. That recognition is an essential first step toward accommodating to a future that is beginning to reveal its general profile. I have every confidence that our people, our government, and our institutions, in time, will respond with positive actions to adapt to new conditions.

We must avoid being incarcerated in what historian Daniel Boorstin has called the "prison of the present," which tends to lead to an underestimation of the human potential. Too many people seem to assume that things in the future will be as they are now—that there will be no new ideas, no new technological breakthroughs. But life doesn't work that way. When people are involved, things change.

Economists, for example, necessarily work with naked numbers. They can't project the human ingredient—the talent of people, their dedication, their creativity; the proven resilience of our institutions to make needed reforms and adjust to new demands; the ability of our tech-

nology to master what might seem to be overwhelming obstacles to further human advance. I believe in people, and I think they will rise to the challenge once more. We are not in for any sort of national decline, unless we choose to accept such a condition. I am confident we won't.

Refining achievements

Now that we have generated history's greatest gross national product and developed a consumer economy of unprecedented participation, we can well devote increased attention to refining and polishing the content of our accomplishments. For example:

- We must complete the substantial progress made in our effort toward full racial and sexual equality of opportunity, so that all individuals can be judged and advanced on the merits of their capabilities alone.

- Industry and communities and individuals must effectively control pollution, where so much tangible progress has already been made. We must make certain that we and future generations are not short-changed on the quality of the air, land, and water resources on which life and progress depend.

- With a more selective investment program, geared to new market demands as well as to capital restraints, industry should strive to bring more stability to the economic cycle, moderating the violent gyrations that bring personal hardship to so many victims and that raise the specter of government direction of the economy. The nation must have the goal of being able to provide a job for everyone who wants to work, or a guaranteed floor under personal adversity if we cannot provide all of the jobs that are needed.

- We must recognize the continuing revolution in consumer expectation and respond with products of durability, utility, and value, fully tested for safety and performance by manufacturers of integrity.

- Business must get its ethical house in order, recognizing that our well-reported dive in public esteem is not due entirely to external opinion-changing forces. Shoddy moral performances by a small number of businessmen have tarred all business people in the public eye. That may not be fair, but I believe that is the way it is.

In seeking such quality goals and in adjusting to new economic reali-

2. "Another major need is the development of a more effective content in business communications, so that the public, the news media, and public officials will have a better understanding of our means, capabilities, and functions."

3. "I see an urgent need for development of better working relationships between law and science in order to smooth the way for sound technological answers to the new public concerns that are pressing in on industry's future."

4. "We need to sit down with government and on the merits—contributing our best objective expertise—help devise sound programs that will meet the goal of providing better protection for the American public."

ties, I see four specific areas in which business can profitably work to ease our transition to new objectives.

Incentives for workers

1. We employers must intensify our sensitivity to the aspirations of employees, whose attitudes can help or hamper our economic evolution.

If we want the full support of our employees—a point I rate as vital to a secure and prosperous future—then we are going to have to earn it. Our business institutions are going to have to offer a diversity of new incentives, standards, and rewards.

To a greater extent than in the past, we will have to take into account not only the job requirements as management sees them, but the plans and ambitions and preferences of individual employees.

At a minimum, people in an organization should know where the organization is headed, why it has chosen to go that way, and what their personal role in the new mission is to be. Their feelings about these matters must be solicited and considered. They must have the opportunity to contribute to policy formation, even though the eventual final decisions still rest with management.

Their sense of participation and their support are vital. If you don't

have involved people all up and down the line, you don't have much of anything to rely on for the long run.

Clear up misunderstandings

2. Another major need is the development of a more effective content in business communications, so that the public, the news media, and public officials will have a better understanding of our means, capabilities, and functions. In that way, misconceptions and overexpectations that now plague us will be moderated.

I urge that we shelve theoretical economic lectures and sermons on free enterprise. There already is close to unanimous public support for our economic system and a wide understanding that profits and productivity are essential to a continued high standard of living.

We must focus on the precise areas of misunderstanding, which vary widely from group to group, and we must argue our case, not as much from our own perspective as in the terms of the self-interest of a particular audience. Rather than emphasizing the fact that industry's real profits are now less than they were 30 years ago—which involves arcane statistical explanations—we must

make the point that adequate new jobs, continued product and service availability, and reasonable consumer prices hinge on sufficient seed money for new manufacturing facilities, new service enterprises, new ventures of all kinds.

A survey of public opinion shows that the presumed power and great wealth of industry are our weak points, the areas of greatest public misconception. If I can use my friends in Detroit as an example, we might point out that automakers make their best profits with bigger cars and that retooling for smaller ones is expensive. Yet 60 percent of the new-car market is now smaller cars, and imports have invaded 20 percent of Detroit's overall market. So much for a big industry's power to work its will on hapless consumers.

Technological illiterates

3. I see an urgent need for development of better working relationships between law and science in order to smooth the way for sound technological answers to the new public concerns that are pressing in on industry's future. Our modern civilization can no more afford government decisions made by technological illiterates than it can the unleashing of new products without

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Mr. Shapiro is the first person to rise to the top at the 172-year-old Du Pont Co. through a career in law. He joined the chemical firm's legal department as an attorney in 1951. In 1973, he succeeded Charles B. McCoy as chairman of the company.

caution and concern about side effects.

In the development of new legislation, we need to understand that the business of science is not to deliver certainties, but to reduce the level of uncertainty. Science cannot guarantee the complete absence of harm from a product, for example, but only can give assurance that all reasonable means have been taken to eliminate danger. Science cannot deliver the zero risk that is increasingly demanded.

The law, and those who frame it, also must better understand that it is not necessarily sensible to do something simply because it is possible to do it. And better efforts must be made to adjust the deadlines of law to the time frames of technology.

One obvious way to improve the government's expertise on scientific issues would be to get more people with technological training into government service—in executive agen-

cies, regulatory offices, and Congress and state legislatures. I am not talking only about the heads of technological offices, but about the whole chain of decision-making command, including those who do the first drafts of regulations and legislation. In some ways, they are the hidden power elite of government.

Work with government

4. If we could make some headway here, we would be well on the way to achieving my final suggestion, namely the development of a new atmosphere of discussion and accommodation between business and government, as we seek to work out vitally needed adjustments and reforms.

I think business first must be realistic and recognize that, at best, a redirection of government regulation is far more likely than any wholesale shift from the regulatory embrace that now clutches industry. We face even more public concerns being translated into politically appealing new legislation.

It seems to me, however, that industry and government are not all that far apart on basic goals, such as environmental protection and product safety. It is in selecting the precise means to achieve those goals that we hit political snarls. We need to sit down with government and on the merits—contributing our best objective expertise—help devise sound programs that will meet the goal of providing better protection for the American public.

We agree on the need to clean up the nation's waterways, for example, but we don't agree that requiring additional expensive equipment after acceptable water quality is achieved helps anyone. Yet that is precisely what existing law will require us to do.

Unnecessary expenses

In the case of my own company, we have determined that, after the 1977 water quality standards are met, fully 65 percent of further such expenses required of Du Pont by law will not be necessary—that is, \$325 million more will have to be spent where water quality standards will already have been achieved. If

that sum were invested in productive capacity instead, it would create some 5,000 jobs in our company as well as many more jobs in related industry.

Here, as in so many other areas, we are not opposing the public objective—we oppose being required to waste economic resources on measures that go far beyond what is necessary to do the job.

In the era of new economic priorities, government and industry must bring about a better balance among economic, environmental, and energy considerations. All three are vital to the well-being of our people and the security of our nation. We will be running high risks indeed if we apply, by accident or design, an excessive concentration on one of those factors to the relative exclusion of the others.

Opportunities ahead

In the past century, we made economic history by imaginatively exploiting our resources. In the next century, we are going to make ecological history by better conserving our resources and directing their uses to the highest priorities.

In the past century, we made national history by welding a continent together into the richest of markets. In the next century, we are going to complete our start on making international history by leading the way, with our creative multinational companies, to a better standard of living all around the world.

Just as the challenges of the future are great, so are its opportunities. In our third century, I believe the American people are going to rise to further accomplishments—both economic and social—in a magnitude beyond our power even to imagine. Admiration for what we have been able to do in the past to produce food, goods, and services in abundance makes me a believer in the greatness of what we are going to do in the future to further elevate the quality of life in America. END

This article is based on a speech to the New York Board of Trade. Reprints of the article are available from Nation's Business. See page 50 for details.



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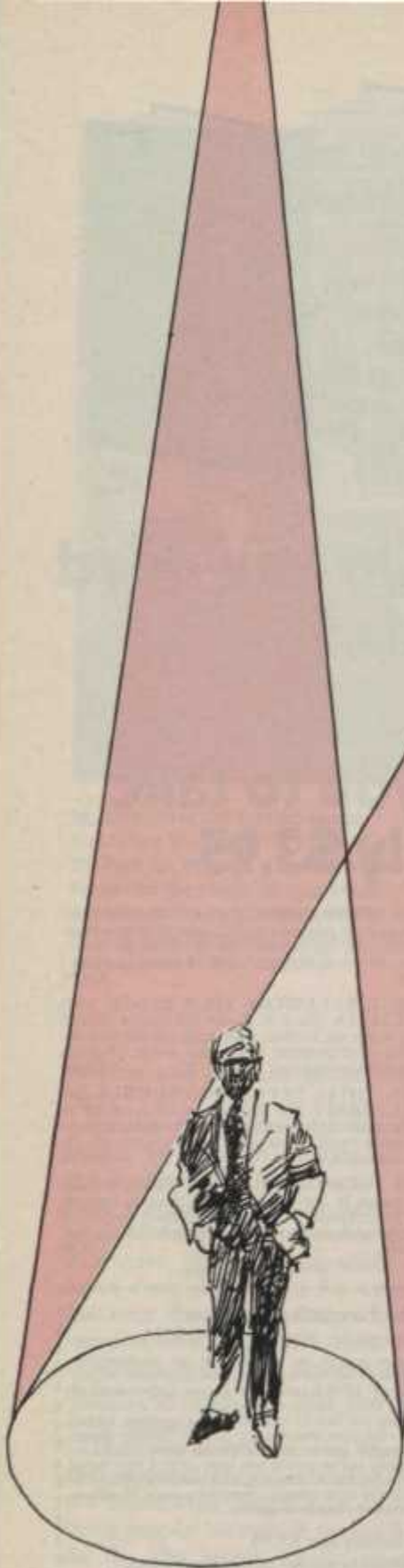
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from the viewpoints of business,
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National Chamber step

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has evaluated individual voting records on a sampling of major issues of particular importance to business. The National

Chamber bases its evaluation on its own "policy positions relative to the exercise of economic and political freedom within our system."

The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education also appraises votes cast by members of Congress. COPE, the political action arm of the giant labor federation, issues what it calls labor's report card on members of Congress, labeling individual votes right or wrong "on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation."

A summary of the voting evaluations by business and labor appears on the following pages.

To provide a broader picture, the ratings of two other organizations are also listed. These groups are Americans for Constitutional Action, which is strongly conservative, and Americans for Democratic Action, which is

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strongly liberal. While the National Chamber and COPE focus primarily on business and economic issues in their ratings, both ACA and ADA rate members of Congress on a mix of economic issues and such other issues as court-ordered school busing for racial reasons.

ACA judges voting in line with its policy statement that "the basic values of the Constitution consist of, first, the concept of natural or God-given rights of the individual (individual liberty); second, a government with powers strictly limited by a written constitution; and, third, a free, competitive market economy."

ADA gives members of Congress a liberal quotient, which the organization says is "determined by the percentage of votes . . . in support of liberal policy."

Number of issues varies

In all four lists, the votes involved were cast in 1975. The figures shown represent percentages of votes, by the individual senator or representative, that were approved by each organization on a varying number of issues.

ACA chose 28 issues in both the House and Senate for its evaluation list. ADA chose 19 in the House and 18 in the Senate.

The National Chamber's sampling included 16 Senate votes and 17 House votes. COPE used 22 Senate votes and 23 House votes.

Many of the issues chosen by the National Chamber and by COPE were the same.

Among such issues were proposals to increase the federal budget and deficit to stimulate the economy, abolish price and other governmental controls over energy supplies, expand the federal bureaucracy by creating more federal regulation of business, and legalize secondary boycotts by construction unions.

Sharply at odds

For example, to the AFL-CIO, a vote for the so-called common situs picketing bill—allowing secondary boycotts on construction projects—was a correct vote. To the National Chamber, a vote against was the proper course.

Under the bill, a single union at a construction site could picket and

thus close down an entire project where many other unions, with no current management disputes, were also at work.

President Ford vetoed the bill when Congress sent it to him, and his veto was upheld. To the National Chamber, a vote to uphold was a plus. To the AFL-CIO, a vote to override was the proper choice.

Creation of a new federal agency on consumer affairs was another issue that put the two organizations sharply at odds. The AFL-CIO backed the legislation; the National Chamber opposed it. While each house of Congress eventually approved consumer agency bills, the House vote was so close that Democratic majority leaders see no chance that President Ford's promised veto can be overridden, and the bill has not been sent to the White House.

On energy matters, the National Chamber took the position that government intervention in the competitive market system would hamper, not help, efforts to increase energy supplies. Labor generally was on the opposite side.

On fiscal matters, the business federation supported votes in favor of restraint, while labor's approval went to those supporting spending increases designed to stimulate the economy.

Discerning a pattern

The National Chamber notes in connection with its evaluation that hundreds of votes are cast in each session of Congress and that only a comparative handful were chosen for the evaluation. However, the National Chamber says, "that does not lessen the value of this report, for the selected votes do help you discern a voting pattern."

Nevertheless, the National Chamber adds: "We urge you to examine also the overall voting records of your congressmen, both on the floor and within their various committees." That recommendation is in line with the view of many members of Congress that voting records should be judged in their entirety, rather than on the basis of a small sampling of selected votes.

Here is how all four organizations rate members of Congress:

SENATE

STATE AND SENATOR	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
ALABAMA				
Sparkman (D.)	26	6	27	42
Allen (D.)	74	6	21	80
ALASKA				
Stevens (R.)	38	33	70	53
Gravel (D.)	23	78	71	46
ARIZONA				
Fannin (R.)	95	11	20	100
Goldwater (R.)	100	6	14	100
ARKANSAS				
McClellan (D.)	52	6	27	63
Bumpers (D.)	18	56	44	15
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston (D.)	11	89	90	6
Tunney (D.)	13	83	75	20
COLORADO				
Haskell (D.)	7	89	64	13
Hart, Gary (D.)	11	94	82	6
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff (D.)	4	78	85	13
Weicker (R.)	32	72	75	69
DELAWARE				
Roth (R.)	57	33	25	80
Biden (D.)	14	78	73	23
FLORIDA				
Chiles (D.)	44	39	29	50
Stone (D.)	32	22	36	50
GEORGIA				
Talmadge (D.)	65	6	38	69
Nunn (D.)	68	11	27	69
HAWAII				
Fong (R.)	48	22	30	67
Inouye (D.)	8	56	90	13
IDAHO				
Church (D.)	9	78	76	0
McClure (R.)	89	6	14	88
ILLINOIS				
Percy (R.)	23	56	86	50
Stevenson (D.)	0	72	82	6
INDIANA				
Hartke (D.)	5	72	80	7
Bayh (D.)	0	72	94	0
IOWA				
Clark (D.)	4	100	86	0
Culver (D.)	0	100	90	7
KANSAS				
Pearson (R.)	30	33	38	56
Dole (R.)	67	17	24	75



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KENTUCKY				
Huddleston (D.)	17	50	60	25
Ford (D.)	26	56	73	31
LOUISIANA				
Long (D.)	48	22	48	67
Johnston (D.)	46	28	24	63
MAINE				
Muskie (D.)	0	89	81	7
Hathaway (D.)	7	94	73	6
MARYLAND				
Mathias (R.)	15	83	85	36
Beall (R.)	43	44	59	69
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy (D.)	0	89	90	13
Brooke (R.)	0	89	90	7
MICHIGAN				
Hart, Philip A. (D.)	4	61	83	0
Griffin (R.)	89	6	25	87
MINNESOTA				
Mondale (D.)	4	94	95	6
Humphrey (D.)	0	94	90	6
MISSISSIPPI				
Eastland (D.)	67	0	17	83
Stennis (D.)	59	0	32	58
MISSOURI				
Symington (D.)	16	72	81	27
Eagleton (D.)	4	72	85	19
MONTANA				
Mansfield (D.)	15	83	68	13
Metcalf (D.)	9	89	90	8
NEBRASKA				
Hruska (R.)	88	6	18	88
Curtis (R.)	95	0	15	92
NEVADA				
Cannon (D.)	41	28	60	31
Laxalt (R.)	87	22	29	93
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
McIntyre (D.)	12	78	65	13
Durkin (D.)	0	100	78	0
NEW JERSEY				
Case (R.)	7	83	91	13
Williams (D.)	7	89	95	19
NEW MEXICO				
Montoya (D.)	36	44	65	38
Domenici (R.)	63	22	35	63
NEW YORK				
Javits (R.)	7	72	90	27
Buckley (Cons.)	65	0	21	85

STATE AND SENATOR	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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NORTH CAROLINA

Helms (R.)	93	0	15	94
Morgan (D.)	47	17	30	36

NORTH DAKOTA

Young (R.)	71	0	18	88
Burdick (D.)	8	87	68	19

OHIO

Taft (R.)	52	22	58	75
Glenn (D.)	16	50	70	33

OKLAHOMA

Bellmon (R.)	67	17	27	80
Bartlett (R.)	96	6	19	94

OREGON

Hatfield (R.)	39	83	57	63
Packwood (R.)	41	72	45	60

PENNSYLVANIA

Scott, Hugh (R.)	30	39	73	56
Schweiker (R.)	8	89	100	13

RHODE ISLAND

Pastore (D.)	7	67	91	19
Pell (D.)	0	89	91	19

SOUTH CAROLINA

Thurmond (R.)	96	0	14	88
Hollings (D.)	33	44	42	27

SOUTH DAKOTA

McGovern (D.)	0	89	82	0
Abourezk (D.)	8	94	76	0

TENNESSEE

Baker (R.)	54	11	33	46
Brock (R.)	83	22	27	81

TEXAS

Tower (R.)	81	11	18	94
Bentsen (D.)	38	39	59	50

UTAH

Moss (D.)	8	61	85	13
Garn (R.)	84	11	25	94

VERMONT

Stafford (R.)	19	72	90	25
Leahy (D.)	0	94	71	0

VIRGINIA

Byrd, H. F. (Ind.)	93	0	23	88
Scott, Wm. (R.)	84	22	14	93

WASHINGTON

Magnuson (D.)	12	55	95	19
Jackson (D.)	8	61	90	6

WEST VIRGINIA

Randolph (D.)	14	67	59	38
Byrd, R. C. (D.)	43	28	50	50

STATE AND SENATOR	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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WISCONSIN

Proxmire (D.)	29	78	54	6
Nelson (D.)	7	89	54	6

WYOMING

McGee (D.)	30	39	70	47
Hansen (R.)	88	0	10	88

HOUSE

State and Dist. Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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ALABAMA

1. Edwards, J. (R.)	92	5	14	94
2. Dickinson (R.)	89	5	9	100
3. Nichols (D.)	81	5	17	59
4. Beville (D.)	67	16	43	47
5. Jones, R. (D.)	38	37	86	20
6. Buchanan (R.)	79	21	27	88
7. Flowers (D.)	71	5	32	53

ALASKA

AL Young, D. (R.)	71	5	19	88
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ARIZONA

1. Rhodes (R.)	88	11	5	100
2. Udell (D.)	13	47	92	8
3. Steiger, S. (R.)	96	0	0	100
4. Conlan (R.)	96	0	5	100

ARKANSAS

1. Alexander (D.)	54	21	62	47
2. Mills (D.)	67	11	48	42
3. Hammer-				
schmidt (R.)	78	5	19	82
4. Thornton (D.)	61	26	61	59

CALIFORNIA

1. Johnson, H. (D.)	19	58	96	29
2. Clausen (R.)	77	5	38	65
3. Moss (D.)	0	89	100	12
4. Leggett (D.)	8	95	100	14
5. Burton, J. (D.)	16	95	96	18
6. Burton, P. (D.)	0	89	95	6
7. Miller, G. (D.)	14	100	96	12
8. Dellums (D.)	11	100	95	24
9. Stark (D.)	0	89	95	13
10. Edwards, D. (D.)	0	100	96	6
11. Ryan (D.)	15	89	91	19
12. McCloskey (R.)	32	68	48	50
13. Mineta (D.)	7	95	100	13
14. McFall (D.)	18	68	91	12
15. Siak (D.)	33	42	85	18
16. Talcott (R.)	92	5	22	65
17. Krebs (D.)	18	89	87	18
18. Ketchum (R.)	89	0	14	93
19. Lagomarsino (R.)	93	11	22	65
20. Goldwater (R.)	88	0	18	93
21. Corman (D.)	4	95	100	12
22. Moorhead, C. (R.)	96	5	15	88
23. Rees (D.)	19	74	73	19
24. Waxman (D.)	0	89	96	6
25. Roybal (D.)	4	95	95	18
26. Roussetot (R.)	96	0	9	100
27. Bell (R.)	82	17	32	75
28. Burke, Y. (D.)	0	89	96	7
29. Hawkins (D.)	12	84	100	13
30. Danielson (D.)	23	68	91	12
31. Wilson, C. H. (D.)	27	63	95	24
32. Anderson, G. (D.)	42	58	83	25
33. Clawson (R.)	93	0	5	94

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State and Representative ACA ADA COPE NATIONAL CHAMBER

CALIFORNIA continued

34. Hannaford (D.)	13	79	82	18
35. Lloyd, J. (D.)	46	66	91	29
36. Brown, George (D.)	4	89	100	26
37. Pettis (R.)	92	12	14	83
38. Patterson (D.)	7	79	95	15
39. Wiggins (R.)	69	11	18	25
40. Hinshaw (R.)	100	5	7	79
41. Wilson, Bob (R.)	83	11	27	87
42. Van Deerlin (D.)	22	79	91	18
43. Burgener (R.)	100	0	17	82

COLORADO

1. Schroeder (D.)	25	84	77	18
2. Wirth (D.)	18	79	91	13
3. Evans, F. (D.)	21	79	78	25
4. Johnson, J. (R.)	75	21	18	81
5. Armstrong (R.)	93	16	4	82

CONNECTICUT

1. Cotter (D.)	19	89	83	18
2. Dodd (D.)	7	79	95	12
3. Gialmo (D.)	25	89	91	12
4. McKinney (R.)	28	72	67	53
5. Sarasin (R.)	54	58	56	59
6. Moffett (D.)	7	100	96	12

DELAWARE

AL du Pont (R.)	59	53	24	56
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FLORIDA

1. Sikas (D.)	83	11	19	56
2. Fuqua (D.)	56	37	38	31
3. Bennett (D.)	57	37	56	24
4. Chappell (D.)	82	5	32	67
5. Kelly (R.)	93	0	4	88
6. Young, C. (R.)	93	16	13	82
7. Gibbons (D.)	54	68	55	47
8. Hailey (D.)	81	16	30	59
9. Frey (R.)	96	5	9	88
10. Bafalis (R.)	89	5	17	71
11. Rogers (D.)	63	26	59	31
12. Burke, J. H. (R.)	75	21	21	87
13. Lehman (D.)	8	95	100	19
14. Pepper (D.)	19	58	95	25
15. Fascell (D.)	11	89	95	25

GEORGIA

1. Ginn (D.)	62	11	43	59
2. Mathis (D.)	65	0	23	88
3. Brinkley (D.)	74	11	43	63
4. Levitas (D.)	54	32	57	53
5. Young, A. (D.)	7	95	100	13
6. Flynt (D.)	91	5	14	73
7. McDonald (D.)	96	0	4	94
8. Stuckey (D.)	65	16	41	60
9. Landrum (D.)	83	0	0	87
10. Stephens (D.)	74	0	24	65

HAWAII

1. Matsunaga (D.)	20	68	91	12
2. Mink (D.)	4	95	95	6

IDAHO

1. Symms (R.)	100	0	9	94
2. Hansen (R.)	96	0	5	94

ILLINOIS

1. Metcalfe (D.)	4	84	90	18
2. Murphy, M. (D.)	18	74	95	12
3. Russo (D.)	25	79	87	18

State and Representative ACA ADA COPE NATIONAL CHAMBER

ILLINOIS continued

4. Derwinski (R.)	79	0	26	94
5. Fary (D.)	0	45	100	50
6. Hyde (R.)	86	5	13	94
7. Collins, C. (D.)	4	100	95	29
8. Rostenkowski (D.)	9	58	100	14
9. Yates (D.)	11	100	96	18
10. Mikva (D.)	11	89	95	13
11. Annunzio (D.)	23	47	95	12
12. Crane (R.)	100	0	5	94
13. McClory (R.)	67	32	17	88
14. Erlenborn (R.)	84	11	5	94
15. Hall (D.)	14	84	100	12
16. Anderson, J. (R.)	54	58	41	76
17. O'Brien (R.)	67	11	24	88
18. Michel (R.)	81	16	9	100
19. Rainsback (R.)	54	42	58	71
20. Findley (R.)	68	37	18	69
21. Madigan (R.)	63	21	39	71
22. Shipley (D.)	40	42	86	53
23. Price (D.)	15	58	100	12
24. Simon (D.)	18	89	91	12

INDIANA

1. Madden (D.)	7	89	95	18
2. Fithian (D.)	41	68	90	29
3. Brademas (D.)	0	95	100	13
4. Roush (D.)	33	84	74	29
5. Hillis (R.)	59	26	43	67
6. Evans, D. (D.)	30	68	90	31
7. Myers, G. (R.)	93	0	26	88
8. Hayes (D.)	7	89	91	18
9. Hamilton (D.)	43	68	74	29
10. Sharp (D.)	18	89	78	24
11. Jacobs (D.)	36	74	70	41

IOWA

1. Mezvinsky (D.)	0	84	91	6
2. Blouin (D.)	11	95	96	16
3. Grassley (R.)	86	21	26	65
4. Smith, N. (D.)	15	63	90	18
5. Harkin (D.)	25	95	77	18
6. Bedell (D.)	12	89	74	25

KANSAS

1. Sebelius (R.)	84	16	14	88
2. Keys (D.)	14	89	91	12
3. Winn (R.)	77	16	29	82
4. Shriver (R.)	84	5	18	75
5. Skubitz (R.)	92	16	22	94

KENTUCKY

1. Hubbard (D.)	59	37	55	41
2. Natcher (D.)	39	42	91	29
3. Mazzoli (D.)	50	63	70	41
4. Snyder (R.)	86	5	13	69
5. Carter (R.)	79	11	26	59
6. Breckinridge (D.)	27	42	70	24
7. Perkins (D.)	29	58	91	12

LOUISIANA

1. Hébert (D.)	64	5	20	81
2. Boggs (D.)	24	47	77	41
3. Trean (R.)	92	0	5	88
4. Waggoner (D.)	86	0	13	82
5. Passman (D.)	65	11	40	71
6. Moore (R.)	89	0	9	88
7. Breaux (D.)	67	11	45	53
8. Long, G. (D.)	32	47	74	29

MAINE

1. Emery (R.)	50	68	57	65
2. Cohen (R.)	54	74	56	59

State and Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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MARYLAND

1. Bauman (R.)	89	0	9	94
2. Long, C. (D.)	33	53	61	40
3. Sarbanes (D.)	4	100	96	18
4. Holt (R.)	82	5	4	88
5. Spellman (D.)	7	95	91	18
6. Byron (D.)	86	5	14	94
7. Mitchell (D.)	7	79	100	18
8. Gude (R.)	25	89	83	24

MASSACHUSETTS

1. Conte (R.)	36	74	70	41
2. Boland (D.)	23	79	91	18
3. Early (D.)	18	89	96	24
4. Drinan (D.)	4	100	91	12
5. Tsongas (D.)	7	100	100	12
6. Harrington (D.)	11	100	91	24
7. Macdonald (D.)	18	68	95	25
8. O'Neill (D.)	8	74	100	12
9. Moakley (D.)	7	100	100	12
10. Heckler (R.)	33	74	71	31
11. Burke, J. A. (D.)	14	84	100	12
12. Studds (D.)	11	100	96	18

MICHIGAN

1. Conyers (D.)	9	79	90	25
2. Esch (R.)	87	26	23	89
3. Brown, G. (R.)	75	11	18	79
3. Hutchinson (R.)	100	5	4	94
5. Vander Veen (D.)	14	84	91	12
6. Carr (D.)	14	89	91	18
7. Riegle (D.)	8	74	100	14
8. Traxler (D.)	25	89	100	18
9. Vander Jagt (R.)	88	16	9	88
10. Cederberg (R.)	93	5	4	94
11. Ruppe (R.)	60	42	30	71
12. O'Hara (D.)	16	74	91	18
13. Diggs (D.)	10	79	100	7
14. Nedzi (D.)	19	84	100	12
15. Ford, W. (D.)	8	89	100	13
16. Dingell (D.)	15	63	95	18
17. Brodeur (D.)	7	100	96	6
18. Blanchard (D.)	14	95	96	18
19. Broomfield (R.)	75	11	9	88

MINNESOTA

1. Quie (R.)	68	37	35	65
2. Hagedorn (R.)	88	16	9	88
3. Frenzel (R.)	70	53	13	76
4. Karth (D.)	17	79	100	18
5. Fraser (D.)	9	74	100	0
6. Nolan (D.)	0	100	96	18
7. Bergland (D.)	14	95	100	12
8. Oberstar (D.)	0	100	96	6

MISSISSIPPI

1. Whitten (D.)	77	16	35	63
2. Bowen (D.)	75	16	39	69
3. Montgomery (D.)	89	0	9	88
4. Cochran (R.)	81	5	29	88
5. Lott (R.)	79	0	13	88

MISSOURI

1. Clay (D.)	4	100	100	18
2. Symington (D.)	19	79	96	12
3. Sullivan (D.)	43	58	83	12
4. Randall (D.)	63	26	56	47
5. Bolling (D.)	11	79	96	13
6. Linton (D.)	36	68	95	13
7. Taylor, G. (R.)	89	0	5	88
8. Ichord (D.)	85	0	29	67
9. Hungate (D.)	31	74	80	25
10. Burlison (D.)	43	53	78	24

State and Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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MONTANA

1. Baucus (D.)	18	74	91	12
2. Melcher (D.)	22	74	86	18

NEBRASKA

1. Thone (R.)	82	26	17	71
2. McCollister (R.)	96	0	18	94
3. Smith, V. (R.)	93	5	9	94

NEVADA

AL Santini (D.)	50	26	65	35
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NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. D'Amours (D.)	36	63	78	18
2. Cleveland (R.)	80	16	11	75

NEW JERSEY

1. Florio (D.)	17	68	95	12
2. Hughes (D.)	39	79	82	19
3. Howard (D.)	0	89	91	12
4. Thompson (D.)	0	89	95	12
5. Fenwick (R.)	52	58	55	67
6. Forsythe (R.)	56	47	32	57
7. Maguire (D.)	11	100	91	18
8. Roe (D.)	18	79	87	24
9. Helstoski (D.)	9	79	90	20
10. Rodino (D.)	5	84	95	18
11. Minish (D.)	19	79	96	18
12. Rinaldo (R.)	36	79	82	29
13. Meyner (D.)	11	95	96	12
14. Daniels (D.)	12	74	91	18
15. Patten (D.)	15	74	91	24

NEW MEXICO

1. Lujan (R.)	77	5	16	88
2. Runnels (D.)	81	0	17	88

NEW YORK

1. Pike (D.)	22	84	82	25
2. Downey (D.)	14	100	91	18
3. Amodeo (D.)	23	89	83	24
4. Lent (R.)	63	26	14	76
5. Wyder (R.)	75	26	10	81
6. Wolff (D.)	19	79	86	13
7. Addabbo (D.)	4	95	96	18
8. Rosenthal (D.)	4	89	91	12
9. Delaney (D.)	25	53	91	18
10. Biaggi (D.)	28	47	82	24
11. Scheuer (D.)	11	95	91	19
12. Chisholm (D.)	7	95	96	12
13. Solarz (D.)	4	100	95	6
14. Richmond (D.)	11	95	95	6
15. Zefaretti (D.)	37	47	91	24
16. Holtzman (D.)	7	95	85	18
17. Murphy, J. (D.)	16	47	91	29
18. Koch (D.)	7	100	100	12
19. Rangel (D.)	8	89	91	13
20. Abzug (D.)	4	95	100	13
21. Badillo (D.)	4	100	95	20
22. Bingham (D.)	7	100	80	6
23. Peyser (R.)	27	53	80	24
24. Ottinger (D.)	7	89	96	12
25. Fish (R.)	65	37	48	65
26. Gilman (R.)	44	63	78	29
27. McHugh (D.)	7	95	95	6
28. Stratton (D.)	44	42	83	41
29. Patillo (D.)	14	89	83	19
30. McEwen (R.)	85	11	14	94
31. Mitchell (R.)	61	26	41	76
32. Hanley (D.)	14	58	96	24
33. Walsh (R.)	64	37	59	59
34. Horton (R.)	41	63	65	47
35. Conable (R.)	75	26	17	100

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Dist.	State and Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
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NEW YORK continued

36. LaFalce (D.)	15	84	96	18
37. Nowak (D.)	7	89	100	12
38. Kemp (R.)	93	5	14	94
39. Ludine (D.)	—	—	—	—

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Jones, W. (D.)	56	21	50	53
2. Fountain (D.)	79	5	22	69
3. Henderson (D.)	69	16	43	53
4. Andrews, I. (D.)	73	26	24	47
5. Neal (D.)	48	68	73	24
6. Preyer (D.)	43	37	74	24
7. Rose (D.)	32	16	62	50
8. Hefner (D.)	58	32	48	41
9. Martin (R.)	88	5	5	94
10. Broyhill (R.)	92	5	5	69
11. Taylor, R. (D.)	75	21	32	47

NORTH DAKOTA

AL Andrews, M. (R.)	76	32	45	44
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OHIO

1. Gradison (R.)	85	21	13	88
2. Clancy (R.)	100	0	14	94
3. Whalen (R.)	15	84	87	18
4. Guyer (R.)	79	11	22	88
5. Latta (R.)	89	5	17	88
6. Harsha (R.)	68	16	32	76
7. Brown, C. (R.)	74	16	14	88
8. Kindness (R.)	93	0	9	100
9. Ashley (D.)	22	74	91	24
10. Miller, C. (R.)	85	5	9	76
11. Stanton, J. W. (R.)	60	26	35	71
12. Devine (R.)	96	0	13	88
13. Mosher (R.)	35	68	39	50
14. Seiberling (D.)	11	95	91	6
15. Wylie (R.)	85	21	23	88
16. Regula (R.)	64	21	35	71
17. Ashbrook (R.)	89	5	4	94
18. Hays (D.)	26	53	86	13
19. Carney (D.)	11	84	100	12
20. Stanton, J. V. (D.)	19	79	91	6
21. Stokes (D.)	4	89	100	18
22. Vanik (D.)	11	95	86	13
23. Mottl (D.)	52	74	73	24

OKLAHOMA

1. Jones, J. (D.)	71	16	43	63
2. Risenhoover (D.)	44	26	73	56
3. Albert (D.)	—	—	—	0
4. Steed (D.)	44	26	52	53
5. Jarman (R.)	96	0	4	100
6. English (D.)	79	16	30	85

OREGON

1. AuCoin (D.)	14	74	71	6
2. Ullman (D.)	16	79	91	20
3. Duncan, R. (D.)	25	53	71	29
4. Weaver (D.)	7	100	87	6

PENNSYLVANIA

1. Vacancy	—	—	—	—
2. Nix (D.)	4	68	100	13
3. Green (D.)	0	95	96	6
4. Ellberg (D.)	8	74	100	12
5. Schutze (R.)	86	16	17	82
6. Yatron (D.)	36	47	81	18
7. Edgar (D.)	11	100	100	13
8. Biester (R.)	32	89	82	35
9. Shuster (R.)	93	0	13	94
10. McDade (R.)	33	58	61	29

State and Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
PENNSYLVANIA <i>continued</i>				
11. Flood (D.)	15	58	91	12
12. Murtha (D.)	48	42	95	36
13. Coughlin (R.)	54	53	38	69
14. Moorhead, C. (D.)	18	84	95	13
15. Rooney (D.)	18	68	91	18
16. Eshleman (R.)	91	0	11	80
17. Schneebeli (R.)	85	16	14	94
18. Heinz (R.)	41	68	74	38
19. Goodling (R.)	75	16	17	65
20. Gaydos (D.)	36	58	100	0
21. Dent (D.)	36	32	82	12
22. Morgan (D.)	19	63	100	12
23. Johnson, A. (R.)	64	11	14	94
24. Vigorito (D.)	15	58	95	12
25. Myers, J. (R.)	64	42	43	76

RHODE ISLAND				
1. St Germain (D.)	11	95	95	18
2. Beard, E. (D.)	11	95	100	13

SOUTH CAROLINA				
1. Davis (D.)	38	26	59	47
2. Spence (R.)	89	11	22	76
3. Derrick (D.)	62	26	57	44
4. Mann (D.)	80	5	23	73
5. Holland (D.)	44	47	45	42
6. Jenrette (D.)	50	37	65	47

SOUTH DAKOTA				
1. Pressler (R.)	58	58	57	53
2. Abdnor (R.)	77	16	17	53

TENNESSEE				
1. Quillen (R.)	92	0	0	93
2. Duncan, J. (R.)	82	5	13	88
3. Lloyd, M. (D.)	64	32	65	35
4. Evans (D.)	36	42	60	44
5. Allen (D.)	33	100	83	—
6. Beard, R. (R.)	89	0	10	94
7. Jones, E. (D.)	63	11	73	44
8. Ford, H. (D.)	19	79	96	13

TEXAS				
1. Vacancy	—	—	—	—
2. Wilson, C. (D.)	38	42	70	29
3. Collins, J. (R.)	93	0	4	88
4. Roberts (D.)	74	5	32	59
5. Steelman (R.)	86	26	18	88
6. Teague (D.)	70	5	24	86
7. Archer (R.)	96	0	4	100
8. Eckhardt (D.)	4	84	95	8
9. Brooks (D.)	36	32	68	19
10. Pickle (D.)	61	26	36	53
11. Poage (D.)	92	0	9	71
12. Wright (D.)	46	32	65	24
13. Hightower (D.)	69	11	32	53
14. Young (D.)	52	26	56	59
15. de la Garza (D.)	64	11	32	65
16. White (D.)	68	11	43	59
17. Burleson (D.)	86	0	9	94
18. Jordan (D.)	7	89	96	18
19. Mahon (D.)	67	11	39	65
20. Gonzalez (D.)	32	42	77	33
21. Krueger (D.)	64	32	35	65
22. Paul (R.)	—	—	—	—
23. Kazen (D.)	71	16	35	65
24. Milford (D.)	81	5	15	81

UTAH				
1. McKay (D.)	33	42	70	41
2. Howe (D.)	18	68	96	31

State and Representative	ACA	ADA	COPE	NATIONAL CHAMBER
VERMONT				
AL Jeffords (R.)	54	68	50	47
VIRGINIA				
1. Downing (D.)	81	5	5	80
2. Whitehurst (R.)	82	5	9	82
3. Satterfield (D.)	100	0	4	88
4. Daniel, Robert (R.)	93	0	5	94
5. Daniel, Dan (D.)	100	0	4	88
6. Butler (R.)	96	0	4	88
7. Robinson (R.)	100	0	5	94
8. Harris (D.)	7	89	91	24
9. Wampler (R.)	93	5	9	88
10. Fisher (D.)	7	95	86	12

WASHINGTON				
1. Pritchard (R.)	43	47	54	63
2. Meeds (D.)	15	95	100	13
3. Bonker (D.)	8	95	91	12
4. McCormack (D.)	14	79	100	13
5. Foley (D.)	19	63	100	21
6. Hicks (D.)	11	58	91	12
7. Adams (D.)	7	89	100	7

WEST VIRGINIA				
1. Mollohan (D.)	28	32	84	27
2. Staggers (D.)	20	53	100	13
3. Slack (D.)	36	37	74	35
4. Hechler (D.)	50	74	70	29

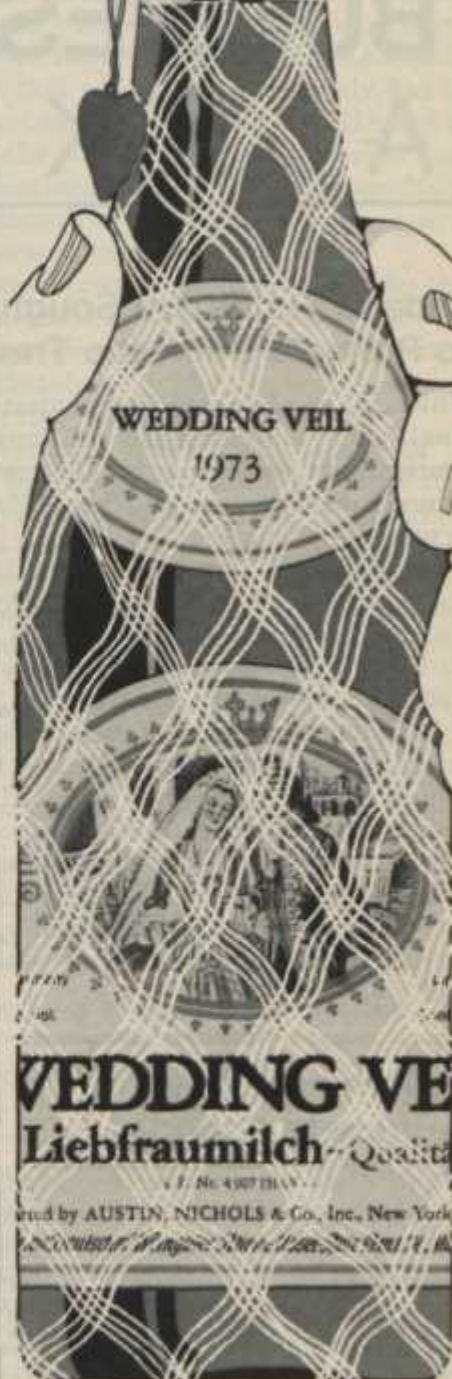
WISCONSIN				
1. Aspin (D.)	23	95	91	7
2. Kastenmeier (D.)	18	100	91	6
3. Baidus (D.)	36	89	91	13
4. Zablocki (D.)	32	58	96	12
5. Reuss (D.)	4	95	100	12
6. Steiger, W. (R.)	67	26	26	88
7. Obey (D.)	25	100	87	6
8. Cornell (D.)	4	95	91	12
9. Kasten (R.)	89	21	22	82

WYOMING				
AL Roncalio (D.)	12	68	77	24

REPRINTS of this article are available from *Nation's Business*. See page 50 for details. For a more complete report on the National Chamber's rating of voting records of members of Congress, you may wish to obtain a 20-page publication entitled "How They Voted." It shows, member by member, what the voting was on 16 selected issues in the Senate and 17 in the House, and it describes each issue.

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BUSINESS: A LOOK AHEAD

Federal Funds Are Sought to Promote Domestic Travel

Cities, states, and nonprofit organizations which now qualify for matching federal funds to promote tourism from abroad may benefit from a similar program for domestic tourism. That is, if new legislation is passed by Congress.

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D.-Hawaii) introduced the legislation, which was cosponsored by six of his colleagues. The bill would give the U. S. Travel Service authority to grant matching funds to foster tourism from adjacent regions and states.

In calling for passage of the bill, Sen. Inouye said federal travel statistics indicate that tourism expenditures in the United States exceed \$70 billion annually and sustain five million jobs. In 46 states, tourism is among the top three industries.

"Conservative estimates place the cost/benefit ratio at ten to one for federal dollars spent promoting tourism to and within the United States," the senator said.

Government May Lift Barriers to Exports

Selling many American products to foreign customers, particularly those of the Soviet bloc, is likely to be easier and quicker as a result of a Defense Department study on the export of U. S. technology.

A special task force of the Defense Science Board has concluded that design and manufacturing know-how are the principal elements that need to be controlled to maintain U. S. technological superiority. The task force says products not directly of significance to national defense should be removed from federal controls.

These controls sometimes embargo sales to any purchaser except the U. S. government and sometimes embargo sales to foreign purchasers only.

Dr. Malcolm R. Currie, head of research and engineering for the Defense Department, agrees with

the task force. Calling for revision of the embargo lists, he says that the lists are now product-oriented but that more attention should be paid to preventing export of secret high technology than of products.

Conceding that revision of the embargo lists would involve substantial efforts by the State, Commerce, and Defense Departments, Dr. Currie points out that the revision also would result in streamlining the processing of export license applications. The frequently slow pace of this procedure puts U. S. businesses at a disadvantage with foreign competitors.

Banking Authorities Hope to Reduce Check Bouncing

The stories are legion about depositors with fat savings accounts but barren checking accounts in the same bank. Their checks bounce.

Now, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. and the Federal Reserve Board plan to put a stop to much of that with procedure changes which would affect 98 percent of the nation's banks.

Banks regulated by FDIC and those in the Federal Reserve System are not now permitted to transfer funds automatically from a customer's savings account to his demand deposit account to cover a check.

Usually, a bank sends the check back through its clearing system, which costs the bank money. Meanwhile the payee—frequently a business—is denied use of the funds, and the depositor has to pay a handling charge.

Recognizing this, FDIC and the Federal Reserve plan to amend banking regulations, enabling a bank and a customer with both a savings and demand deposit account to come to a written agreement. The agreement: In the event the demand account has insufficient funds to cover a check or draft, the bank can automatically transfer funds in \$100 increments from the savings account to the demand account. The depositor will have to pay a penalty—loss of 30 days' interest on the funds transferred.

SBA Is Told to Tighten Up Development Loan Program

The General Accounting Office has chided the Small Business Administration on the way it manages the local development company loan program.

Involved are loans for construction, expansion, or conversion of plants for use by specific small businesses. The money is loaned to local development companies—formed and invested in personally by citizens of a community—and not to the businesses.

If small businesses can get funds from other sources, they are not supposed to receive loans under the program. However, GAO charged that such firms often do obtain the program's longer term, lower interest rate loans.

The watchdog agency checked 95 loans and found that one or more of SBA's eligibility criteria were not met in 36 instances. SBA has agreed to restudy its procedures to prevent future abuses.

More Competition Planned in Government Purchases

Under a new policy directive from the White House, competition will be the name of the game in all federal government decisions on large purchases.

In the past, moves to ensure competition in federal procurement have focused on the Defense Department, but now the Office of Federal Procurement Policy in the Office of Management and Budget has extended competition requirements to cover large purchases by all federal agencies.

Affected will be "major systems," defined as those which are critical to an agency's mission, which require allocation of vast resources, and which warrant special management attention. This could mean a new bomber, a national communications system, or an energy research program.

The new policy is a consolidation of a dozen reform recommendations that came from the now defunct Commission on Government Procurement.

OSHA Tries to Ease Fears About Hazard Consultations

To clear some muddy water, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has spelled out in detail the responsibilities of safety and health consultants who provide free on-site advice to businesses.

These are programs separate and distinct from OSHA's enforcement and compliance activities [see "OSHA's New Focus: The Health of Your Employees," NATION'S BUSINESS, May, 1976].

OSHA has funds available to finance job safety and health consultations by state and territorial em-

ployees, and it currently awards such funds to 12 states and one territory.

The consultants are required to take action if they spot serious hazards, but OSHA says many employers have erroneously interpreted this to mean that in all situations the hazards must be corrected at once.

As a result, some businesses have been reluctant to ask for the service. Recognizing this, OSHA has published a notice that says a consultant only has to report "imminent danger" situations to OSHA and to employees if the hazards aren't corrected immediately. These are cases in which the consultant feels there is substantial probability of death or serious physical harm in the immediate future.

In cases where the consultant doesn't consider the danger to be imminent, but where he feels it is probable that death or serious harm will eventually result, he must immediately notify the employer and give him reasonable time to eliminate the cause.

The consultant must make a follow-up visit in these cases. If he finds the hazard hasn't been corrected, he has to notify the OSHA regional office.

Jurisdictions providing this on-site consultation under a contractual arrangement with OSHA are Arkansas, Delaware, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Puerto Rico.

OSHA has requested funds in its 1977 budget to include 20 other jurisdictions. In addition, 22 states and the Virgin Islands offer the service under their own occupational safety and health plans.

Saving Air Service for Small Communities

A new federal subsidy program aimed at halting the steady decline in air service to small towns has been proposed by the Ford administration.

The program would encourage low-cost commuter airlines to fill voids created by the withdrawal of larger regional airlines, regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Board, from unprofitable markets. Service to small communities now is largely provided by scheduled commuter air carriers, which are unsubsidized and unregulated by CAB.

Secretary of Transportation William T. Coleman, Jr., says that, although more than \$1 billion in subsidies for service to small communities has been provided by the federal government since 1960, regulated carriers have dropped nearly a third of the points they once served. He concludes that the government could reduce subsidies, now running from \$70 million to \$80 million a year, to between \$10 million and \$15 million annually by subsidizing commuter air carriers. The commuter carriers fly smaller aircraft and can operate more efficiently on these routes, Mr. Coleman says.

Balancing Environmental Protection and Economic Progress

CONGRESS plans to act this month on air quality legislation. Decisions made will have a major bearing on whether American industry will be allowed to continue the economic growth needed to provide jobs for individuals coming into the work force.

Senators and representatives will be dealing with proposed amendments to a 1970 law that established national air quality standards to protect human health and welfare.

Some members of Congress want to go far beyond the 1970 standards and restrict economic growth in areas where air quality is above those standards.

Adopting that policy would mean sacrificing jobs and other basic needs of people to maintain air quality at unnecessarily high levels.

Rigid federal controls would also amount to imposing national industrial zoning laws on states and localities which are capable of planning their own economic growth.

Other members of Congress support an alternative, also supported by the business community, aimed at achieving a balance between environmental protection and progress. This alternative calls for a thorough study of the complexities of setting standards for highly mobile air masses and of the long-range economic and social impact of such standards. The study would be completed in a year.

The air quality issue is of overriding importance to the nation. Taking time to allow a close look at all the factors involved is a most reasonable way to proceed.



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